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THE
WORKS

OF

Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt.

Political, Commercial, and Philosophical;

Together with his

LETTERS and POEMS.

The Whole never before collected together,
and some never yet printed.

To which is prefix'd,

A New Account of his LIFE

BY

THO. BIRCH, M. A. F. R. S.

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A
DISCOURSE
TOUCHING A
War with *SPAIN*,
And of the Protecting of the
NETHERLANDS.

May it please your Majesty,

IT belongeth not to me to judge whether the King of *Spain* hath done wrong to the *Netherlands*, or whether the *Netherlands* have failed in Allegiance towards the King. The King pretending absolute Sovereignty, they pretending a conditional Obedience.

But it seems to me, without question, that both *Holland* and *Zealand* did of Right belong to the Lady *Inquelin* of *Haynault*; who, to save her own Life, was forced to relinquish her Estate; and that *Zuptben* and *Guelders* did as rightfully belong to the Duke of *Arnold*, who being Prisoner with that Duke of *Burgundy* that died before *Nantz*, the said Duke intruded

upon his Possession to the Prejudice of *Adolfe* his Son and lawful Successor.

But leaving their Quarrels to their own Consciences ; whether it standeth with your Majesty's Safety to relinquish them, Yea, or No, is the Argument which I presume to offer to your Majesty's great Wisdom.

The *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, with the rest of the United Provinces (which altogether we call by the Name of *Netherlands*) are your Majesty's near Neighbours, and most industrious People ; they are near, and may, with a Blast of Wind, in twenty-four Hours depart their own Coasts and enter ours.

And a poor Neighbour's House set on fire, is to be better guarded, or watched, than a great City afar off.

They are strong by the Situation of their Countries, strong in Cities, Mariners, and Shipping ; by reason of the Country and fortify'd Towns, they are able to defend themselves ; and by reason of the Multitude of their Ships, they are in a Condition to offend others.

There are no People more industrious in all Things, or more provident. Witness these two Particulars : The first, That having in *Holland* neither Timber nor Iron, they build more Ships, and cheaper, than either *England* or *Spain*, which have Plenty of both.

The second is, That whereas their Grounds are in effect all Pastures, and have no Wheat growing of their own, they not only serve themselves cheap, but have us'd (when the Trade was open) to furnish both *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy* with the same Grain. Now whether it will stand with your Majesty's Safety to abandon a Nation so near, so strong, and so industrious will be the Question ? I answer, That for your Majesty to leave the *Netherlands* to themselves, as they are consider'd strong, can bring no other Danger to your Majesty than is common to all Princes that have strong Neighbours.

But if they cannot subsist of themselves, nor without their Subjection to some other Prince, or State, they shall

shall not be able to defend themselves ; then the Peril which may ensue is very likely, or rather assur'd to *Britain*. It is first therefore to be enquired, Whether they can subsist, or no? If they can, it is formerly answer'd ; if they cannot, on what Prince they are likeliest to rely?

First, That they have means to defend themselves, Experience denies ; and that Experience is grounded upon good Reason : For as your Majesty best knows it, as from the Beginning of their Revolt, they have made Strangers to their Bodies, their Defenders ; so are their own People altogether unapt for Soldiers : If they were otherwise, yet have their Estates now such Dominion, as they can employ them otherways ; most part of their People are Mechanics, and live by their Handy-crafts, their Crafts-men maintain their Trades, and Navigation produces their Revenues, which maintain their Wars. And though there have been certain Troops erected of *Frysons*, and out of other Island Parts ; yet these do rather serve to make up their Numbers, and furnish their Garrisons, than that they have us'd them in any important Service, or in the Field : So that the Strength of their Armies have consisted, for the most part, of *English*, *Scotch*, and *French*.

If then, such be the Composition of their Armies : It is first apparent, that they cannot defend themselves by their proper Forces ; and that they will rely and give themselves to one of these Princes ; viz. to the *English* (accounting now *England* and *Scotland* all one) or *French* ; or else return again, in the End, to the Arch-Duke, or to the *Spanish* King.

The Reason why they bind themselves to this Choice is, Power and Neighbourhood : Your Majesty, and the *French* being best able, and the next adjoining.

To expect Succour from the *Germans*, or from other Princes which are remote, they cannot ;

First, Because those Princes have Dependance on the Emperor.

Secondly, Because they are not of Ability to maintain the Quarrel.

And Thirdly, and chiefly, Because their Succour cannot come so far, being to march Over-land, the Charge being double to all Armies that pass through the Territories of other Princes ; which must either be able to master the Territories, or pass by safe Conducts whither they march.

So great Armies, as shall master Countries, the States need not ; and the lesser will be always in danger to be cut off, or resisted. The Neighbouring Princes being more fearful of the *Spaniard's* Greatness, than careful of the State's Amity.

But the *Netherlands* require often Supply, and few in Number, such Troops as may be transported by Sea, in the *Netherlands* own Shipping, and at an easy Rate, and in lesser Time : For as *England*, *Scotland* and *France*, may supply them in twenty-four Hours ; so from any Prince or State else, they may be, in coming Over-land, twenty-four Weeks. It is therefore likely, that if your Majesty refuse them, they will offer themselves to the *French*, or return to the *Spanish* Obedience ; both which will bring equal Danger to your Majesty's State.

The Reasons are many ; but I will rehearse them in a few Words, because your Majesty can better judge by a Word, than another can by a Volume.

There are two Ways by which *England* may be afflicted.

The one by Invasion, being put to the Defensive, in which we shall but cast Lots for our own Garments.

The other by Impeachment of our Trades ; by which Trades all Commonwealths flourish, and are enrich'd.

Invaded or impeach'd we cannot be, but by Sea ; and therefore that Enemy which is strongest by Shipping is most to be suspected and feared.

It is certain, the *Netherlands* are able to furnish more Ships of War, and Mariners, than all *England* and *Scotland* can do, with greater Facility, and in shorter Time : What Advantages your Majesty hath by the powerfulness of your own Ships, the same Advantages are answer'd by the *Netherlands* in their Numbers : Who by reason of their long Wars with *Spain*, and diligent Search over the World for Trade, are become the most orderly, and best disciplin'd Men of War by Sea in all *Europe*.

This great Strength of Shipping is not so much to be accounted of, if it were not in these two Respects.

The one, because it is so exceeding near us.

The other, because *Holland* and *Zealand* are situate between us and our best Trades, which are all Eastward.

For our *Muscovia* Fleets, our Merchant Adventurers, our Companies of *Eastland*, and all which trade through the *Sound*, from whence we have our Materials for Shipping, must pass by *Holland*.

And if those Trades were impeach'd, all Sorts of People would suffer together, and the Commonwealth fall into extream Poverty and Decay.

And whereas it may be objected, that our *Muscovia* Fleet, and our Merchant Adventurers are of sufficient Strength to make their own Passage, and need not fear the Force of the *Netherlands* : I confess, that, as they may pass, so they may perish.

But this is a general, and infallible Rule, in all the Course of Merchandize, That wheresoever the Adventure is great, and the Profit little, the Adventurer will soon give up.

But if the *English* Merchants shall be driven to double Man their Ships, and furnish them with double Munition, and pay double Wages, then the Charge will be double to that which now it is ; the Hazard will also be manifest, for the Reasons before alledg'd.

And that which will prove as great an Inconveniency as the rest, will be ; the great Price of Merchandize return'd from all these Burdens, will light upon the Buyer, and upon all Sorts of People, in the End.

Example may be taken by the Merchants of *Seville* in *Spain*, who, by reason of our scattering Men of War upon their Coasts in the *Indies*, did pay 20 *per Cent.* for Convoy. This new Charge so impoverish'd the Merchants, that both the Banks of *Seville* broke, as the first Misfortune that befel them, for little less than twenty Millions.

There's a great Difference between the Strength of the *Netherlands*, and that of the *Spanish* King ; when he maketh any great Armado, he's driven to take up and imbarck in the Shipping of all Nations ; some of his own, others from *Venice*, or *Ragusa*, others out of all the Parts of the *Eastlands*, and from the *Hans* Towns, from the *Danes*, *Hamburgers*, *Lubickers* and *Bremers*.

These Ships are of divers Conducts, and divers Swiftnesses, so as they cannot either assail or defend in gross, as the *English*, or *Netherlands* can.

The *Spanish* King is also constrained to press the Mariners of other Nations ; as the *Italian*, *French*, *Flemming* and *Dutch*, to mingle with those of the *Spanish* Nation. When these come to any Extremity, either by foul Weather, or by Fight, the Confusion is infinite ; and sometimes a Ship may be cast away by mistaking of a Rope : There cannot be found any Masters or Captains that can speak all these Languages ; and if they could, yet were it to little Purpose ; for Men are directed at Sea, by Multitude, not in a single Voice.

Furthermore, these Men that are of strange Nations, and are taken up by Violence, fight with their Hands, but not with their Hearts ; they rather desire Liberty than Victory ; and rather seek to hide themselves, and save themselves thereby, than to hazard their Lives
in

in a Quarrel that neither appertains to them, their Princes, or their Country.

Laſtly, When the *Spaniſh* King ſhall attempt any thing upon *England*, or *Ireland*, or any ſuch remote Country, his Fleets are ſubject to great Variety of Winds and Weather, and to many Storms, by reaſon whereof, the late great *Spaniſh* Admiral loſt both his Enterprizes upon *England*: The laſt Fleet alſo, that came for *Ireland*, was diſperſed and much broken; and in the Year 1588, after the Duke of *Medina* was once beaten from the Narrow Seas, he loſt the beſt Part of his Fleet by Tempeſt.

On the contrary, the *Netherlands* have as many Ships of their own, as any Chriſtian Prince hath, their Ships are of one Faſhion, Conduct, and Swiftneſs; their Mariners of their own Nation, and Language; valiant and well order'd Men; and, as it is ſaid before, ſo near us, as they will be in our Ports in a Summer's Day: So no People are ſo fitted by Art and Nature to annoy theſe Kingdoms as they.

It may perchance be objected, that when King *Hen. VIII.* had Wars with the Emperor *Charles V.* who was alſo Lord of the *Low Countries*, that the *Engliſh* received no Prejudice by the main Ships of the *Netherlands*: It is true, and I myſelf remember, that within theſe thirty Years, Two of her Majeſty's Ships would have commanded one hundred Sail of theirs.

I remember alſo, when myſelf was a Captain in *Ireland*, that a hundred Foot, and a hundred Horſe, would have beaten all the Force of the ſtrongeſt Provinces: But of late, I have known an *Eaſterling* fight hand to hand with one of her Majeſty's Ships; and that the *Iriſh* have, in this laſt War, been overthrown with an even, or a far leſs Number.

The *Netherlands*, in thoſe Days, had wooden Guns, and the *Iriſh* had Darts; but the one is now furniſh'd with as great a Number of *Engliſh* Ordnance as ourſelves,

selves, and the other with as good Pikes and Muskets as *England* hath.

Of which War, I know no other Profit arising, than the Expence of two Millions, the impoverishing of this Kingdom, and the training and arming of the *Irish*, who have now, and ever had, their Lands and Lives restor'd, when they have been brought to the last Gasp, and Point of Subjection. And therefore, if this truly be so of the former Government, *Stultum est eos invadere quos nequeant in officio retinere*; 'Tis a foolish Thing to assault those whom we cannot keep in subjection when overcome.

And a Council indeed far out of Course, which doth neither retain the Mind, nor restrain the Mighty. But he that Governs by Discourse of former Times, shall but take counsel of the Dead; for the Natures of all Things under the Sun are subject to change, but the Nature of Reason only. And it is certain, that in the Times of Alteration, the Wisdom of Nature is better than of Books; Prudence being a wise Election of those Things which never remain after one and the self-same Manner.

To reason by Comparison; and to prove by the Argument *a Minori ad Majus*, how much the Trade of *England* may be endanger'd by the *Netherlands*; your Majesty may please to remember, that *Dunkirk* is but a fishing Town, a bad Haven, and hath not above a dozen Sail of small Ships; before which Port also there is continually maintain'd a strong Fleet of *Hollanders*, and *Zealanders* to restrain them so, as they can neither come forth, nor pass in, but in a dark Night, for fear of their Enemies, and at a Spring-tide for want of Water; and it is true, that those few *Dunkirkers* have taken from the *West-Country* Merchants, within two Years only, above three thousand Vessels, besides all that they have gotten from the rest of the Ports of *England*, and from the *Netherlands*; inso-much as they have so impoverish'd all those *Western* Merchants,

Merchants, as their Trade, in effect, is utterly decay'd ; and those People which were wont to be set at work by them, and did live in good fort, do now live by alms and begging.

If then one poor Town in *Flanders*, notwithstanding the Impediments before rehears'd, hath so much impoverish'd your Majesty's Subjects, what can *Holland* and *Zealand* do, who are able to set out fifty Sail of better Ships than those of *Dunkirk* are ? If it be ask'd, What would be the Consequence, if they should join to your Majesty's Enemies ; I shall answer, as the Marshal *Biron* did to the *French* King, *Vous le sçavez mieux que moy ; Your Majesty knows better than I.*

Now, as the *Netherlands* may be us'd to impoverish your Majesty's Dominions, by disturbing our Trades ; so shall they be in an Estate to assist the *Spanish* King upon any Invasion, and that so dangerously, as it can hardly be resisted ; for if the King of *Spain* shall prepare a Fleet in *Spain*, and therewith assail the *Western* Ports, and the *Netherlands* with their Fleet, and Army of the *Low-Countries*, undertake the invading our *Eastern* Parts at the same Time ; the greatest Fleets that *England* can make (if it be divided) will not be able to encounter either.

Furthermore, if the *Netherlands* be with-held from the *Spanish* Obedience, your Majesty hath but an Enemy of *Spain* ; if you break with *Spain*, the Trade also is free and open to all Parts of the *East* ; but if *Spain* recover the *Netherlands*, and then quarrel with your Majesty, you shall then find a strong War ; and a strong Restraint of Trade on both Sides.

To all this, your Majesty may justly say, that I speak upon Suppositions only ; and I confess it.

For first, it is not agreed on, that if your Majesty leave the *Low-Country* Men, that then they will receive the *Spanish* King, or the Arch-Duke.

Secondly, tho' they do, that therefore it follows, that either of them will make war with your Majesty.

What

What the *Netherlands* will do, they being rejected by *England*, I cannot determine; it were Presumption to speak, but only mention, what Danger, in likelihood, may happen to *England* in the future.

For if the States do find, that they cannot subsist of themselves, and that your Majesty refuses to protect them, then it is undoubted, but that Necessity (which inforceth all Things) will also enforce them to choose a Master; and a fit Master cannot be found for them, but in *England*, or in *France*, unless they return to the Old——

If they give themselves to *France*, it is worse for us, as I conceive.

If they submit themselves to the *Spanish* King, what he will do afterwards, *Is occultius humana voluntate, is a Secret to us; and harder to discover, than the Intention of a Man in a Matter, before Occasion offer'd to determine his Resolution.* It is known to God only.

What he may then do, is that which I presume to remember your Majesty of: And Woe be to that Prince, or State, who holds his Quiet by the Will of another.

I have heard, that both the King, and the Arch-Duke will offer to your Majesty Continuance of Peace: And I know they have good Cause to desire it: But, *Unde hæc de illis tanta modestia nisi Cognitione Virium nostrarum & suarum*——But from whence comes this great Moderation and Compliance, but only from the Knowledge of our Strength, and their own Weakness. And I am perswaded, your Majesty may have better Conditions than ever King of *England* had.

But after the *Spaniard* shall have repair'd his Losses, I know not how your Majesty may be assur'd of his Amity: For the Kings of *Spain* were not wont to keep either Promises, or Oaths, longer than they may prove profitable to themselves; *Cum principes utantur nomine pacis & fidei potius ad propriam commoditatem quam ad earum observationem*——For Princes make Pro-
mises,

wifes, and en er into Leagues chiefly for their own Advantage ; and longer than they tend to that, they do not hold themselves oblig'd to observe them.

And especially the Kings of *Castile*, who have follow'd *Ferdinand* (the first Elector of that Monarchy into greatness) both in Condition and Determination.

This *Ferdinand*, the better to effect what he aspir'd unto, did forbear to break neither Oaths, nor Promises ; respected neither Alliance, nor Kindred ; witness his Treaties, and in them he folded up Treasons against the *Neapolitan* Prince his Cousin, and to whom also he marry'd his Sister, and to whose Defence he sent *Gonsalvo* with an Army against the *French*, and with the same Army set upon the King at *Naples*, overthrew him, and divided his Kingdom (as your Majesty best knows) with *Lewis XII.*

How he handled the *French* afterwards, and the *Venetians* ; how he abus'd and betray'd his Son-in-law, King *Hen. VIII.* when he drew the *English* Army into *Biscay*, with Promise to join with the *English* to recover the Dutchy of *Guienne*, while himself did by that Colour conquer *Navarre* : Of the like Practices of his Successor *Charles V.* it were needless to repeat to your Majesty ; I have set it down at large, in *a Discourse how War may be made against Spain, and the Indies* ; which I will also present to your Majesty, if you will vouchsafe the reading thereof. King *Philip* the last, had the same Intent the rest of his Predecessors had ; and if the Revolt of the *Low-Countries* had not been the Impediment, and his fond enterprizing of *France* and *England* at one Time, he had put all *Europe* in great hazard e're this !

But it may be perswaded, that your Majesty may relieve the *Netherlands* under-hand, as the *French* do, or her Majesty did in the Beginning of their Revolt, for which, the King of *Spain* will not dare to quarrel for the present ; For Princes must sometimes look through their Fingers, as well as poor Men. *Maximilian,*

lian, the King of the *Romans*, made a Peace with *Charles VIII.* of *France*, notwithstanding he had taken from him the Dutchess of *Britain*, to whom he was married by Proxy, and rejected *Maximilian's* Daughter (a double and most intolerable Injury;) but such a Kind of Peace, which is apparently dissembled, cannot last long; for as it was said by *Annius*, *Prætor* of the *Latins* to the *Romans*, *Pacem si bonam dederitis & fidelim, sit perpetua, si malam, haud diuturna*—A just and reasonable Peace may hold and continue; but one obtained through wicked Practices can never last long.

If a present Parley be proposed, the Question is, Who shall receive the greatest Profit by the Cessation?

The King of *Spain* is now so poor, as he employed the *Jesuits* to beg for him at every Church-door in *Spain*.

His Revenues are mortgaged in such Sort, as of twenty-five Millions, he has but five Millions free; his Ships are worn out and consumed, and his People in general exceeding poor.

He hath of late received many Affronts and Losses; and in *Peru*, many of the chiefest and best Towns are recovered from him by the Natives.

And commonly, when great Monarchies begin once in the least to decline, their Dissipation will soon follow after.

The *Spanish* Empire hath been greatly shaken, and hath begun of late Years to decline; and it is a Principle in Philosophy, That *Omnis diminutio est preparatio ad corruptionem*. That the least Decay of any Part, is a fore-runner of the Destruction of the whole.

And tho' it may be awhile upheld, as the State of *Rome* was by *Vespasian* and *Trajan*; yet following the former Declination; *Retro statim sub-lapsa fertur usque dum plane subversa fuit*. It presently fell back again, and never left declining till the Roman State was utterly overthrown.

But if now the King of *Spain* can obtain Peace upon any Condition reasonable, so as he may fortify his Weak-

Weakness, both in *Europe* and the *Indies*, and gather again sufficient Riches, putting the *English* from the Exercise of War in those Parts, and so make us to forget his *Indies*, till those be consumed that know them ; he will soon grow to his former Greatness and Pride : And then, if your Majesty shall leave the *Low-Countries*, and he find us by ourselves, it will not be long e'er he remembers his old Practices and Attempts.

And your Majesty having divers Nations, and divers Humours to content, he will not doubt to find a great Advantage by our neglecting the reformed *Netherlands* Abroad, and from the Hardships the Roman Catholics complain of at Home.

Moreover, this Advantage the *Spanish* King shall ever have ; that whensoever they shall think fit to make a Pretence, they may find a Time, once a Year, to stay, and confiscate a hundred Sail of our Merchants best Ships and Goods in his own Ports ; and your Majesty shall not find any of theirs in all *England*.

If then a Peace give him time to repair and fortify himself, and encrease his Treasure, your Majesty can have no Assurance, but that when he is repaired, he may take your Majesty at all Advantages.

The King being a Catholick, and a Child of the Pope's, he can never in any Respect affect you, or any other Prince, or State of the reformed Religion.

It is very considerable, whether the Way of War, or the Way of Peace, were the Way of Safety, yea or no ; especially, as Peace may be dangerous, and the War profitable.

But for my own Opinion (which is little worth) I do consent, that the *Netherlands* will not be drawn, without a most forcible Extremity, to yield themselves to the *Spanish* King.

The King of *Spain* takes himself to be their Natural Lord ; the Injury which he conceiveth hath been done him by the *Netherlands*, is an unquenchable Fire ; for he hath been by them both wasted, prevented, and dishonoured,

dishonoured, and therefore it will be hard to perswade these People to put their Necks under the *Spanish* Sword.

Marshal *Montluc*, speaking of the Death of *Castilian*, useth these Words, *Nous pardons l'entendement, ne songeans pas, que les Roix ont plus de cœur que nous, & qu'ils oublient plutost les services que les offences.* We must excuse the Inconsiderateness of those, who do not think, that Princes have a greater Heart and Stomach than we, and that they may forget a great many Services, but never one Injury.

Francis the II. never forgot the Tumult at *Amboise*.

Charles the IX. the Enterprize at *Meaux*.

Richard the II. of *England*, the Earl of *Arundel*, who forced him to take the *Tower* for Refuge.

It is not very likely that a King of *Spain* will forget a Rebellion of thirty Years continuance; in which he hath spent One hundred Millions of Ducats, lost so much Honour, and so many worthy Men; and if an Accommodation were agreed on, betwixt the *Netherlands* and *Spain*, yet I cannot believe, that the *Netherlands* will think themselves secure upon any simple Agreement, but that they will ever stand upon their Guard.

And if the *Spanish* King should require their Assistance (at any time after Composition) against this Kingdom, yet they would be well advised in this Point, knowing right well that *England* is the Rampire and Defence of their Estates, and cannot but believe, that although your Majesty do not hastily enter into a War for them, yet your Majesty will always have an Eye to their Subsistence.

Furthermore, it will be very fearful to both Sides, how they may trust one another in joint Forces; remembering this Precept, *Non utatur dux Militum opere nec persona offensi*, That Generals must not take into their Service, the Persons of those that are disgusted.

Again, the States that have found the Sweet of Commanding, will not easily make themselves Servants

to the Will of another. And an Estate once establish'd, is not changed but by Violence.

The States have moreover banish'd and put from them all their Nobility, but very few poor ones, and have shared all their Inheritance among them; therefore they know if they render themselves to the *Spaniards*, those great Persons will be restor'd, and reveng'd; besides, where the Religion is in Question, when the *Spaniards* will stand on so many Points of Honour, and the *Netherlands* on so many Conditions of Safety, the Dispute will not be ended in haste.

It is true, that the *French* are most observ'd to concern themselves, of all other, in this Affair; for both Count *Maurice*, and such of the Nobility and Gentry that remain, are most addicted that Way.

France is already one of the greatest Kingdoms in *Europe*, and our farthest Friend.

They know your Majesty's Right to all, and to *Normandy* and *Aquitaine* without Dispute.

Your Majesty hath not now a Duke of *Burgundy*, and of *Britain*, to assist you, as your Predecessors had; *France* hath all yours, and the Countries of *Provence*, *Anjou*, *Burgundy* itself, and a great Part of *Picardy* also; and your Majesty not so much as *Calais*, or any Place of Strength of your own, on that Side, in your Possession.

It may be said, that your Majesty shall have the Assistance of the numerous reformed *French*, if Need require; who are supposed to be Friends to *England*, because Enemies to the *Roman-Catholicks*: And it may be to get themselves good Conditions, these may move, they may agree for the Beginning, but not for the End: *Newhaven* may put your Majesty in mind what may be hop'd from the *French*, of what Religion soever.

The Advantage which your Majesty hath over the *French* is only in Shipping. If the *French* get the *Low-Countries*, that Advantage is also lost.

And

And although it be probable, that the *Netherlands* will remember *Monsieur's* Attempts upon *Antwerp*, *Dunkirk*, and other Places, after he was elected Duke of *Brabant* ; yet I hope I shall never live to see the Day wherein the *French* shall be Masters of the *Netherlands*, upon any Conditions ; for they may serve the *French* to infinite Purposes, although they suffer them not to be absolute in their Cities and fortify'd Places.

For if the Army or the States shall march on the one Side, and that of *France* on the other Side, the Arch-Duke will soon be crush'd between them ; *France* having a good Title to *Flanders*, *Artois*, &c.

And then your Majesty finding how dangerous it will be for yourself, to suffer *France* to be the Master of the *Netherlands*, and so many Ships, and to possess so many of the Inland Provinces withal, cannot, for your own Safety's sake, assist the Arch-Duke ; whereas by assisting the *Netherlands*, your Majesty might have made the War profitable, and by their Shipping commanded all the Trade in the World.

Then your Majesty, by taking part with the Arch-Duke, shall but waste yourself, and impoverish all your People and Commonwealth.

But your Majesty well knowing, that *Consiliis nulla res tam inimica est quam celeritas*. That nothing is so great an Enemy to Counsel, as too much haste ; will, as I think, be first resolv'd, what the Estates will contribute towards the War upon *Spain* and the *Indies*.

Secondly, In what Places they will make the War in the *Low-Countries* ; in *Flanders* or *Dunkirk* : That your Majesty may thereby have equal Profit, and that your Majesty's People be not spoiled as heretofore.

Thirdly, How your Majesty shall be paid your great Debts already owing.

And Lastly, How your Majesty shall be assur'd both of the cautionary Towns, and of their Assistance for the future, when your Majesty shall further enable them ; seeing, by your Majesty's late Goodness, they are

are already made so forcible; that as you are either driven to defend them, or to fear them, so your Majesty may in some Part be assured of their Dependence.

Your Majesty will also understand how difficult a Thing it is to be assur'd of the *Spanish* King, and the Arch-Duke.

If you abandon the *Netherlands*, how to free your People from the *Inquisition* of *Spain*, enlarge their Trades, and be secur'd not to have your Ships stay'd in his Ports at his Pleasure.

There are many Considerations which ought to fore-run a War. *Possunt arma facile sumi sed eis sumptis eorum difficilis est depositio.* 'Tis an easy Matter to take up Arms and go to War; but to carry it on with that Vigour and Success as to obtain a happy Conclusion is exceeding hazardous and difficult.

Your Majesty will further know the Quantity of your Treasure, and how a War may be as well supply'd as begun, *Prudens militum præfectus bellum sine pecunia non constituat, quoniam ea si defuerit difficillimum est exercitum convenire, aut conventum conservare.* A prudent Prince will consider his Treasure and Revenues before he goes to war; for if Money be wanting, 'tis impossible to get an Army together; or when they are so, to preserve them; for Money is the only Cord and Sinew that can draw Men into his Service, or keep them fast when they are there: For Princes that think to be served for nought, will have their Business come to nothing.

There are many other Provisions to be made towards a safe and honourable Management of a War, which are not so soon gather'd together. 'Tis in vain to expect to see a Workman build a House before he hath Materials; *Nullum movendum est bellum nisi ad illud paratis necessariis.* No body will engage in a War, before all Things necessary to support and carry on that War be provided.

The Affair is great, which your Majesty is at present to consider of, and the greatest that ever King of

England had ; for the Branches are many, and most weighty ; the Eyes of all the World behold your Majesty herein ; and as your Majesty shall deal like yourself, so shall your Majesty be valu'd of all Nations : If any perswade your Majesty to pass it over slightly, he is ignorant, and understands it not.

If any perswade your Majesty to a hasty Conclusion for either Part, I should suspect him to be more concern'd for his own, or some others, than for your Majesty's Interest ; and that he were partial to the one, or the other ; for in every Particular that shall be handled, many Mischiefs may be folded up, which will not appear at the first ; and, on the contrary, much Honour and great Assurance of Advantage may be only visible ; *Sed quod interius malum tegunt principia, posteriora produnt.* But Evil then does us the most Mischief, when it comes to us under the Mask and Disguise of Good ; and the Effects of a secret and undiscover'd Danger are, of all others, the most fatal.

First, in the Question of leaving, or succouring the *Netherlands* ; Whether it shall be openly, or underhand, if at all ; what Profit every way, and what Assurance may be gotten to your Majesty by aiding them, and what Danger by leaving them.

If your Majesty make Peace with *Spain*, what the Conditions shall be ; and how your Majesty shall be assured of their faithful Performance of them.

And these fold up in them many Considerations of no small Consequence ; and I hope your Majesty's prudent Determination for the Advantage of *England* and *Europe*, well make your Wisdom so appear to the World, that it may be truly said, *Quam mirabilis sit Copula Sapientiae cum Potentia : How admirable is the Conjunction of Wisdom and Power.* And because it is also true, that *Nulli unquam Deus omnia dedit.* That God never endu'd any one Man with all Things ; your Majesty must ease yourself in some Part by the Help of Council ; for, *Sapientia argumentum in principe nullum majus,*

majus, quam sapientum virorum consilio uti. For a Prince to adhere to the Advice and Counsel of wise Men, is the greatest Argument of his own Wisdom.

For myself, because I have presum'd thus far upon Hope of your Majesty's gracious Pardon, and favourable Acceptance, being the meanest and unworthiest of all others, I can say but this, *Si le sel un conseil donne, je n'en fais refus pour personne. If a Counsel appears good and seasonable, it will not be refus'd for his Sake that gives it.*

I dare not write all I desire ; for I know not to whose Hands these may come ; this I beseech your Majesty to know, that it proceedeth from an humble and faithful Heart, which your Majesty cannot beat from the Love of your Royal Person and good Estate.

In this great Business God direct your Majesty's Mind, *Agitur de Imperio Mundi. The Dispute is no less than of the Government of the whole World, as to us.* When the House is built, it is ill mending the Foundation thereof.

God hath so blest your Majesty in the Situation of your Kingdoms, that the Growth of any of your neighbouring States depends upon your Majesty's Election, whom you will aid and assist.

Your Majesty may propound such necessary Conditions, both to the States, and the *Spanish* Side, as you may break with either, upon the Grounds both of Honour and Reason.

Now no Man in this Case, can assure his Council, or undertake to give Judgment of the Success ; for, according to *Aristotle, Omnia quæ veniunt in consultationem talia sunt, qualia possint aliter accidere. Every thing that comes under Deliberation is of such an uncertain Condition and Nature, that Things may happen quite different from what the wisest Man could foresee.*

But if your Majesty be not affectionate to either Party, then, no doubt, but your Majesty will follow

the Way which appeareth to be most safe, most profitable, and most honourable.

And whosoever loveth your Majesty, will not only wish it, but withal present the little Talent of his Knowledge therein; for, *non tantum qui mutat locum, sed fugit qui se sub silentio abscondit.* For he that will be silent when he might declare and publish what may prove useful to your Majesty's Government, does as much decline your Service as he that flies your Kingdoms.

A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
ORIGINAL
AND
FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE
OF

Natural, Arbitrary, Necessary, and
Unnatural WAR.

THE ordinary Theme and Argument of History is War ; which may be defined the Exercise of Violence under Sovereign Command, against Withstanders : Force, Authority and Resistance, being the essential Parts thereof. Violence limited by Authority, is sufficiently distinguished from Robbery, and the like Outrages ; yet consisting in Relation towards others, it necessarily requires a Supposition of Resistance ; whereby the Force of War becomes different from the Violence inflicted upon Slaves, or yielding Malefactors. As for Arms, Discipline, and whatsoever else belongeth to the making of War prosperous, they are only considerable in their Degree of Perfection ; since naked Savages fighting

ing disorderly with Stones, by Appointment of their Commanders, may truly and absolutely be said to war. Nevertheless, 'tis true, that as the Beasts are armed with fierce Teeth, Paws, Horns, and other bodily Instruments, of much Advantage against unweapon'd Men : So hath Reason taught Man to strengthen his Hand with such offensive Arms, as no Creature else can well avoid, or possibly resist. And it might seem happy if the Sword, the Arrow, the Gun, with many terrible Engines of Death, could be wholly employ'd in the Exercise of that lordly Rule which the Lord of all hath given to Mankind over the rest of living Things. But since in human Reason there hath no Means been found of holding all Mankind at Peace within itself ; 'tis needful that against the Wit and Subtilty of Man, we oppose not only the brute Force of our Bodies (wherein many Beasts exceed us) but helping our Strength with Art and Wisdom, strive to excell our Enemies in those Points, wherein Man is excellent over other Creatures.

The Necessity of War, which among human Actions, is the most lawless, hath some Kind of Affinity and near Resemblance with the Necessity of Law : For there were no use either of War, or of Law, if every Man had Prudence to conceive how much of Right were due both to and from himself ; and were withal so punctually just as to perform what he knows requisite, and to rest contented with his own : But seeing our Conveyances of Land cannot be made so strong by any Skill of Lawyers, without Multiplicity of Clauses and Provisoës, that it may be secure from Contentions, Avarice, and the Malice of false seeming Justice ; it is not to be wondred that the great Charter whereby God bestow'd the whole Earth upon *Adam**, and confirmed it unto the Sons of *Noah*, being as brief in Words, as large in Effect, hath bred much Quarrel of Interpretation.

* *Gen. Cap. 1. ver. 28.*

Surely, howsoever the Letter of that Donation may be unregarded by the most of Men ; yet the Sense thereof is so imprinted in their Hearts, and so passionately embrac'd by their greedy Desires, as if every one laid claim for himself, unto that, which was conferr'd upon all.

This appear'd in the *Gauls* falling upon *Italy* under their Captain *Brennus*, who told the *Roman* Ambassador plainly, *That prevalent Arms were as good as any Title ; and that valiant Men might account to be their own, as much as they could get : That these wanting Land wherewith to sustain their People, and the Tatienses having more than enough, it was their Meaning to take what they needed by strong Hand, if it were not yielded quietly.*

Now if it be well affirm'd by Lawyers, that there is no taking of Possession more just then in *Vacuum venire*, to enter upon Land uninhabited (as our Countrymen have lately done in the *Summer Islands*) then may it be inferr'd, that this Demand of the *Gauls* held more of Reason than could be discern'd at the first View.

For if the Title of Occupiers be good in Land unpeopled, why should it be bad accounted, in a Country peopled over thinly ? Should one Family, or one Thousand hold Possession of all the Southern undiscover'd Continent, because they had seated themselves in *Nova Guiana*, or about the Streights of *Magellan* ? Why might not then the like be done in *Afric*, in *Europe*, and in *Asia* ? If these were most absurd to imagine, let then any Man's Wisdom determine, by lessening the Territory, and increasing the Number of Inhabitants, what Proportion is requisite to the peopling of a Region in such manner, that the Land shall neither be too narrow for those whom it feedeth, nor capable of a greater Multitude ? Until this can be concluded and agreed upon, one main and fundamental Cause of the most grievous War, that can be imagin'd, is not like to be taken from the Earth.

It was perhaps enough in Reason, to succour with Victuals and other Helps a vast Multitude compell'd by Necessity to seek a new Seat, or to direct them to a Country able to receive them. But what shall perswade a mighty Nation to travel so far by Land or Sea, over Mountains, Desarts, and great Rivers with their Wives and Children, when they are (or think themselves) powerful enough to serve themselves nearer hand, and enforce others unto the Labour of such a Journey : * I have briefly shewed in another Work, that the Miseries accompanying this Kind of War, are most extreme : Forasmuch, as the Invaders cannot otherwise be satisfy'd then by rooting out, or expelling the Nation upon whom they fall.

And altho' the Uncertainty of the Tenure, by which all worldly Things are held, ministers very unpleasant Meditation ; yet it is most certain, that within 1200 Years last past, all, or the most part of Kingdoms to us known, have truly felt the Calamities of such forcible Transplantations ; being either overwhelm'd by new Colonies that fell upon them, or driven, as one Wave is driven by another, to seek new Seats, having lost their own.

Our Western Parts of *Europe*, indeed, have great Cause to rejoice, and give praise to God, for that we have been free above 600 Years from such Inundations as were those of the *Goths* and *Vandals* ; yea, from such as were those of our own Ancestors, the *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans* : But howsoever we have, together with the Feeling, lost the Memory of such Wretchedness as our Forefathers endur'd by those Wars (of all others the most cruel ;) yet are there few Kingdoms in all *Asia*, that have not been ruin'd by such overflowing Multitudes within the same Space of these last 600 Years.

It were an endless Labour to tell, how the *Turks* and *Tartars*, falling like Locusts upon that Quarter of

* *Gen. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 2.*

the World, having spoil'd every where, and in most Places eaten up all by the Roots, consuming (together with the Princes formerly reigning, and a World of People) the very Names, Language, and Memory of former Times. Suffice it, that when any Country is overlaid by the Multitude which live upon it, there is a natural Necessity compelling it to disburden itself, and lay the Load upon others, by Right, or Wrong ; for (to omit the Danger of Pestilence, often visiting them which live in Throngs) there is no Misery that urgeth Men so violently unto desperate Courses and Contempt of Death, as the Torments and Threats of Famine: Wherefore the War that is grounded upon this general remediless Necessity, may be termed, the general and remediless, or necessary War.

Against which, that our Country is better provided, as may be shewed hereafter, then any civil Nation to us known, we ought to hold it a great Blessing of God, and carefully retain the Advantages he hath given us.

Besides, this remediless, or necessary War, which is not frequent, there is a War voluntary and customable, unto which the offended Party is not compell'd : And this customary War, which troubleth all the World, giveth little Respite or Breathing-time of Peace, and doth usually borrow Pretence from the Necessity, to make itself appear more honest ; for covetous Ambition thinking all too little which at present it hath, supposeth itself to stand in need of all which it hath not.

Wherefore, if two bordering Princes have their Territories meeting in an open Campaign, the more mighty will continually seek Occasion to extend his Limits to the further Border thereof.

If they be divided by Mountains, they will fight for the Mastery of the Passage of the Tops, and finally, for the Towns that stand upon the Roots.

If Rivers run between them, they contend for the Bridges ; and think themselves not well assur'd, until they have fortify'd the further Bank.

Yea,

Yea, the Sea itself must be very broad, barren of Fish, and void of little Islands interjacent, else will it yield plentiful Argument of Quarrel to the Kingdoms which it serveth : All this proceeds from Desire of having ; and such Desire, from Fear of Want.

Hereunto may be added, that in these Arbitrary Wars, there is commonly to be found some small Measure of Necessity, tho' it seldom be observ'd ; perhaps, because it extendeth not so far as to become publick : for where many younger Sons, of younger Brothers, have neither Lands nor Means to uphold themselves ; and where many Men of Trade, or useful Profession, know not how to bestow themselves for lack of Employ, there can it not be avoided, but that the whole Body of the State (howsoever otherwise healthfully dispos'd) should suffer Anguish by the Grievance of these ill-affected Members.

It sufficeth not that the Country hath wherewith to sustain even more than lives upon it, if Means be wanting, whereby to drive convenient Participation of the general Store into a great Number of well Deservers.

In such Cases there will be Complaining, Commiseration, and finally Murmur (as Men are apt to lay the Blame of those Evils whereof they know not the Ground upon publick Misgovernment) unless Order be taken for some Redress by the Sword, of Injury suppos'd to be done by Foreigners ; whereto the discontented Sort give commonly a willing Ear : And in this Regard, I think it was, that the great Cardinal, *Francis de Amiens*, who govern'd *Spain* in the Minority of *Charles V.* hearing tell, that 8000 *Spaniards* were lost in the Enterprize of *Algiers*, under *Don Diego de Vera*, made light of the Matter, affirming, *That Spain stood in Need of such Evacuations.* Foreign War serving (as King *Ferdinand* had wont so say) *like a Potion of Rhubarb, to waste away Choler from the Body of the Realm.*

Certainly,

Certainly, among all Kingdoms of the Earth, we shall scarce find any that stand in less Need than *Spain* of having the Veins open'd by an Enemy's Sword; the many Colonies it sends abroad, so well preserving it from swelling Humours: yet is not that Country thereby dispeopled; but maintaineth still growing upon it (like a Tree from whom Plants have been taken to fill whole Orchards) as many as it can well nourish.

And to say what I think; if our King *Edward III.* had prospered in his *French* Wars, and peopled with *English* the Towns which he won, as he began at *Calais*, driving out the *French*; the Kings (as his Successors) holding the same Course, would by this Time have filled all *France* with our Nation, without any notable emptying of this Island.

The like may be affirm'd upon like Suspicion, of the *French* in *Italy*, or almost of any others; as having been verifi'd by the *Saxons* in *England*, and *Arabians* in *Barbary*: What is then become of so huge a Multitude, as would have overspread a great Part of the Continent? Surely, they died not of Old-age, nor went out of the World by the ordinary Ways of Nature; but Famine and contagious Distempers, the Sword, the Halter, and a thousand Mischiefs have consum'd them. Yea, of many of them, perhaps, Children were never born; for they that want Means to nourish Children, will abstain from Marriage; or (which is all one) they cast away their Bodies upon rich old Women; or otherwise make unequal or unhealthy Matches for Gain; or because of Poverty, they think it a Blessing, which in Nature is a Curse, to have their Wives barren.

Were it not thus, Arithmetical Progression might easily demonstrate how fast Mankind would increase in Multitude, overpassing (as miraculous, tho' indeed natural) the Examples of the *Israelites*, who were multiplied in 215 Years from 70, unto 600000 able Men. Hence we may observe, that the very Progression of
our

our Kind, hath with it a strong Incentive even of those daily Wars which afflict the whole Earth. And that Princes excusing their drawing the Sword, by devised Pretences of Necessity, speak often more truly than they are aware ; there being indeed a great Necessity, tho' not apparent, as not extending to the Generality, but resting upon private Heads.

Wherefore other Cause of War, merely natural, there is none : The Want of Room upon the Earth, which pincheth the whole Nation, begets the remediless War ; vexing only some Number of Particulars, it draws on the Arbitrary. But to the kindling of Arbitrary War there are many other Motives. The most honest of these is Fear of Harm, and Prevention of Danger ; this is just, and taught by Nature, which labours more strongly in removing Evil, than in Pursuit of what is requisite unto Good : Nevertheless, because War cannot be without natural Violence, it is manifest, that Allegation of Danger, and Fear, serves only to excuse the suffering Party, the Wrong-doer being carry'd by his own Will ; so that War thus caused proceeds from Nature not altogether, but in Part.

A second Motive, is Revenge of Injury sustain'd. This might be avoided, if all Men could be honest, otherwise not ; for Princes must give Protection to their Subjects and Adherents, when worthy Occasion shall require it, else they will be held unworthy and insufficient ; than which, there can be to them no greater Peril.

Wherefore *Cæsar*, in all Deliberations where Difficulties and Dangers threatned on one Side, and the Opinion that there should be in him *parum præsidii*, little Safeguard for his Friends, was doubted on the other Side, always chose rather to venture upon Extremities, than to have it thought that he was a weak Protector : Yea, by such Maintenance of their Dependants, many Noblemen, in all Forms of Government, and within every Man's Memory, have kept them-

selves in Greatness with little Help of any other Virtue.

Neither have mere Tyrants been altogether careless to maintain, free from Oppression of Strangers, those Subjects of theirs, whom themselves have most basely esteem'd, and used as no better than Slaves; for there is no Master that can expect good Service from his Bond-slaves, if he suffers them to be beaten, and daily ill-treated by other Men. To remedy this, it were needful that Justice should every where be duly administred, as well to Strangers as to Denizens. But contrariwise, we find, that in many Countries (as *Muscovy*, and the like) the Laws, or Administration of them, is so far from giving Satisfaction to Strangers, as they fill the general Voice of them with Complaints and Exclamations.

Sir *Thomas Moor* said, (whether more pleasantly or truly, I know not) *That a Trick of Law had no less Power than the Wheel of Fortune, to lift Men up, or to cast them down.*

Certainly, with more Patience Men are wont to endure the Loss that befall them by mere Casualty, than the Damage they sustain by Means of Injustice, because these are accompanied with Sense of Indignity, whereof the other are free. When Robbers break into Mens Houses and spoil them, they tell the Owners plainly, That Money they want, and Money they must have. But when a Judge, corrupted by Reward, Hatred, Favour, or any other Passion, takes both House and Land from the rightful Owner, and bestows them upon some Friend of his own, or his Favorite, he says, That the Rule of Justice will have it so; that it is the Voice of the Law, and Ordinance of God himself: And what else herein doth he, than, by a Kind of Circumlocution, tell his humble Suppliants, that he holds them Ideots, or base Wretches, not able to get Relief? Must it not astonish, and withal vex any Man of a free Spirit, when he sees none other
Difference

Difference between the Judge and the Thief, than in the Manner of performing of their Exploits ; as if the whole Being of Justice consisted in Point of Formality ? In such Case, an honest Subject will either seek Remedy by ordinary Courses, or wait his Time, till God shall place better Men in Office, and call the Oppressors to Account. But a Stranger will not do so ; he hath nothing to do with the Affairs of *Barbary*, neither concerns it him, what Officers be placed or displaced in *Taradante* ; or whether *Mulifidian* himself can contain the Kingdom ; his Ship and Goods are unjustly taken from him ; and therefore he will seek leave to right himself if he can, and return the Injury ten-fold upon the whole Nation from which he received it. Truth is, that Men are sooner weary to dance Attendance at the Gates of foreign Lords, than to tarry the good Leisure of their own Magistrates ; nor do they bear so quietly the Loss of some Parcel confiscate abroad, as the greater Detriment which they suffer by some prowling Vice-Admiral, Customer, or publick Minister at their return.

Whether this proceed from the Reverence which some Men yield to their Governors, I will not define ; or whether Excess of Trouble in following their Causes from Home ; or whether from Despair of such Redress as may be expected in their own Country, in the hoped Reformation of Disorders ; or whether from their more Unwillingness to disturb the domestical, than the foreign Quiet by loud Exclaimings ; or whether, perhaps, their not daring to mutter against their own Rulers for Injustice (tho' it were shameful) for fear of faring worse, and for being punish'd for *Scandalum magnatum*, as Scandalers of Men in Authority : Whencesoever it comes, as there can be but one Allegiance, so Men are apt to serve no more than they needs must ; according to that of the Slave, in the old Comedy, *Non sum servus publicus. My Master bought me for himself ; and I am not every Man's Man.* And this Opinion, there is

no Prince unwilling to maintain in his own Subjects ; yea, such as are most rigorous to their own, do never find it safe to be better unto Strangers ; because it were a Matter of dangerous Consequence, that the People should think all other Nations to be in a better Case than themselves.

The Brief is, Oppression, in many Places, wears the Robe of Justice, which domineering over the Natives, may not spare Strangers ; and Strangers will not endure, but cry out unto their own Lords for Relief by the Sword. Wherefore this Motive of revenging Injuries is very strong, tho' it merely consist in the Will of Man, without any Enforcement of Nature.

Yet the more to quicken it, there is usually concurring with it a hopeful Expectation of Gain ; for of the Amends recover'd, little or nothing returns to those that have suffer'd the Wrong ; but commonly all runs into the Prince's Coffers.

Such Examples as was that of our late Queen *Elizabeth* *, of famous Memory, are very rare : Her Majesty, when the Goods of our *English* Merchants were attack'd by the Duke of *Alva* in the *Netherlands*, and by King *Philip* in *Spain*, arrested likewise the Goods of the *Low-Dutch*, here in *England*, that amounted to a greater Value : Neither was she contented that her Subjects should right themselves, as well as they could upon the *Spaniards* by Sea ; but having brought King *Philip* within 4 or 5 Years † to better Reason, tho' not so far as to Restitution, she satisfy'd her own Merchants to the full for all their Losses, out of the *Dutchmens* Goods, and gave back to the Duke what was remaining.

This, among many Thousands of her royal Deeds, made her glorious in all Nations ; but tho' it caused even Strangers, in their Speeches and Writings, to extol her Princely Justice to the Skies, yet served it not for a President for others of less Virtue to follow.

* Anno 1569.

† Anno 1573.

It were more costly to take Pattern from those Acts which gave immortal Renown to that great Queen, than to imitate the thrifty Dealing of that *Spanish* Duke in the self-same Business, who kept all to his own Use, or his Master's, restoring to the poor *Dutch* Merchants not one Penny. It falls out many Times indeed, that a Prince is driven to spend far more of his Treasure in punishing by War the Wrongs of his People, than the Loss of his People do amount unto. In such Cases, it is Reason that he satisfy himself, and let the People (whereto commonly they are apt) rest contented with the Sweetness of Revenge.

But when Victory makes large amends for all, it royally becomes a Prince to satisfy those, for whose Satisfaction he undertook the War: Far besides the Purpose it were now, to teach how Victory should be used; or the Gains thereof communicated to the general Content; this being only brought in to shew, that the Profit thereby gotten, is a strong Provocation to the Redress of Injuries by the Sword.

As for the Redress of Injuries done unto Princes themselves, it may conveniently (tho' not always, for it were miserable Injustice to deny leave to Princes of maintaining their Honour) be reserv'd unto the third Motive of Arbitrary Wars, which is mere Ambition.

This is, and ever hath been the true Cause of more Wars, than have troubled the World upon all other Occasions whatsoever; tho' it least partake of Nature, and urgent Necessity of State. I call not here alone by the Name of Ambition, that vain-glorious Humour, which openly professeth to be none other, 'and vaunts itself as an imperial Virtue; for the Examples are not many of that Kind: But where Occasion of War is greedily sought, or being very slight is gladly entertain'd, (for that Increase of Dominion is hoped thereby) we should rather impute the War to the Scope at which it aimeth, than to any idle Cause pretended.

The *Romans* feared, lest they of *Carthage*, by winning *Messina*, should soon get the Mastery over all *Sicily*, and have a fair Entrance at Pleasure into *Italy*; which to prevent, they made war upon the *Carthaginians*: This Fear I call Ambition; had they not trusted in their own Arms, hoping thereby to enlarge their Empire, but been weaker, and more afraid indeed, they would have feared less.

For Colour of this War, they took the *Mamertines*, a Crew of Thieves and Cut-throats, into their Protection, whom being their Associates, they must needs defend; but had not their Ambition been mightier than their Justice, they would have endeavour'd to punish the *Mamertines*, and not to protect them. Innumerable are the like Examples; *Know ye not* (said *Abab*) *that Ramoth-gilead is ours?* He knew this before, and was quiet enough, till Opinion of his Forces made him look unto his Right: And of this Nature (tho' some worse than other in Degree) are Claims of old forgotten Tribute; or of some Acknowledgments, due perhaps, to the Ancestors of a vanquish'd King, and long after challeng'd by the Heirs of the Conqueror. Broken Titles to Kingdoms or Provinces, Maintenance of Friends and Partizans, pretended Wrongs, and indeed whatsoever it pleaseth him to alledge, that thinks his own Sword sharpest. But of old Time, perhaps, before *Helen of Greece* was born, Women have been the common Argument of these Tragedies; as of late Ages in our Parts of the World, since the Names of the *Guelfs* and *Ghibelines* were heard, the Rights of *St. Peter*, that is, the Pope's Revenues and Authority: This last, and others of the same Kind, I know not how patiently they will endure to be ranged amongst ambitious Quarrellers; for the War that hath such Foundations, will not only be imputed free from worldly Ambition, just and honourable, but holy and meritorious, having thereto belonging Pardon of Sins, Release from Purgatory, and the Pro-

mise of the Life to come, as may be seen in the Pope's *Croisada*.

The Truth is, that the *Saracens* affirm no less of the Wars which they make against Christians, or which arise betwixt themselves from Difference of Sect; and if every Man had his Due, I think, that the Honour of devising first this Doctrine, (*viz.* That Religion ought to be enforced upon Men by the Sword) would be found appertaining to *Mahomet* the false Prophet. Sure it is, that he, and the *Caliphs* following him, obtained thereby, in short Space, a mighty Empire, which was in a fair Way to have enlarged itself, until they fell out amongst themselves; not for the Kingdom of Heaven, but for Dominion upon Earth: And against this did the Popes, when their Authority grew powerful in the *West*, incite the Princes of *Germany*, *England*, *France*, and *Italy*; their chief Enterprize was the Recovery of the *Holy Land*, in which worthy, but extreme difficult Action, it is lamentable to remember, what abundance of noble Blood hath been shed, with very small Benefit to the Christian State.

The Recovery of *Spain*, whereof the better Part was then in Bondage of the *Saracens*, had been a Work more available to the Men of *Europe*, more easily maintained with Supply, more aptly serving to advance any following Enterprize upon Kingdoms further removed, more free from Hazard, and requiring less Expence of Blood; but the honourable Piety of the Undertakers could not be terrified by the Face of Danger, nor diverted from this, to a more commodious Business, by any Motives of Profit or Facility; for the Pulpit did sound in every Church with the Praises of that Voyage; as it were a Matter far less highly pleasing unto God, to bear Arms for Defence of his Truth against Persecutors, or for the Deliverance of poor Christians oppressed with Slavery, than to fight for that self-same Land wherein our Blessed Saviour was born and died. By such Persuasions, a marvellous

Number were excited to the Conquest of *Palestine*, which with singular Virtue they performed, tho' not without exceeding great Loss of Men, and held that Kingdom some few Generations.

But the Climate of *Syria*, the far Distance from the Strength of Christendom, and the near Neighbourhood of those who were the most puissant amongst the *Mahometans*, caused that famous Enterprize, after a long Continuance of a terrible War, to be quite abandoned.

The Care of *Jerusalem* being laid aside, it was many Times thought needful to repress the growing Power of the *Turk*, by the joint Forces of all the Christian Kings and Commonwealths; and hereto the Popes have used much Persuasions, and often published in their *Croisada*, Pardon of Sins to all that would adventure in a Work so religious, yet have they effected little or nothing, and less perhaps are ever like to do; for it hath been their Custom so shamefully to misuse the fervent Zeal of Men to religious Arms, by converting the Monies which they have levied for such Wars to their own Services, and by stirring up Christians one against another; yea, against their own natural Princes, under the like Pretence of serving God and the Church; that finally, Men waxed weary of their turbulent Spirits, and would not believe that God was careful to maintain the Pope in his Quarrels, or that Remission of Sins past was to be obtained, by committing more and more grievous, at the Instigation of his suspected Holiness.

Questionless, there was great Reason why all discreet Princes should beware of yielding hasty Belief to the Robes of Sanctimony.

It was the Rule of our Blessed Saviour, *By their Works ye shall know them*: What the Works of those that occupy the Papacy have been since the Days of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*, who first enabled them with temporal Donation, the *Italian* Writers have testified

at large. Yet were it needless to recite *Machiavel* who hath recorded their Doings, and is therefore the more hateful; or *Guicciardin*, whose Works they have guelded, as not enduring to hear all that he hath written; though he spake enough in that which remains. What History shall we read (except the Annals of *Cæsar Baronius*, and some Books of Friars and frierly Parasites) which mentioning their Acts, doth not leave Witnesses of their ungodly Dealings in all Quarters?

How few Kingdoms are there (if any) wherein, by dispensing with Oaths, transferring the Right of Crowns, absolving Subjects from Allegiance, and Cursing, and threatening to curse, so long as their Curses were regarded, they have not wrought unprofitable Mischiefs? The shameless Denial hereof by some of their Friends, and the more shameless Justification by their Flatterers, makes it needful to exemplify, which I had rather forbear, as not loving to deal in such contentious Arguments, were it not Folly to be modest in uttering what is known to all the World. Pity it is, that by such Demeanor they have caused the Church (as *Hierom Savanarolla*, and before him, *Robert Grosthead* Bp. of *Lincoln* prophesy'd) to be propagated by the Sword; but God would have it so.

How far the Pope's Blessing did sanctify the Enterprize upon *Jerusalem*, it rests in every Man's Discretion to judge.

And for the honourable Christians which undertook that Conquest, to justify their War, they had not only the Redress of Injuries, and Protection of their oppressed Brethren, but the repelling of Danger from their own Land, threatned by those Misbelievers whom they invaded.

If the Pope's Extortions (which were not more forcible than those of *Peter* the Hermit's) added Spirit unto the Action, yet alter'd they not the Grounds of the War, nor made it the more holy. Let the Indulgences of Pope *Leo* the tenth bear Witness of this, who
out

out of politick Fear of the *Turks* Violence, urged a religious Contribution towards a War to be made upon them ; the Necessity of that which he propounded was greater, doubtless, than any that had persuaded the Conquest of *Palestine*.

But too foul and manifest was the Unholiness of obtruding upon Men Remission of Sins for Money ; and the Sums which Pope *Leo* thereby raised and converted to his own Use, have made his Successors Losers by the Bargain, even to this Day.

Pope *Pius* II. formerly well known by the Name of *Æneus Sylvius*, was deservedly reckoned amongst the few good Popes of latter Ages ; who nevertheless in a War of the same religious Nature, discovered the like (tho' not the same) Imperfection. His Purpose was to set upon *Mahomet* the Great, who had newly won the Empire of *Constantinople*, and by carrying the War over into *Greece*, to prevent the Danger threatening *Italy*.

In this Action, highly commendable, he intended to hazard his own Person, that so the more easily he might win Adventurers, who else were like to be less forward, as not unacquainted with such *Romish* Tricks ; yet was not his own Devotion so zealous in Pursuit of this holy Business, but that he would stay a while, and convert his Forces against *Malatesta*, a Lord of *Rimini* ; letting *Scanderberg* wait his Leisure, who had already set the War on foot in *Greece* ; For (said he) *We must first subdue the Little Turk, before we meddle with the Great*. He spake Reason, if we regard Policy, but attending only to Religion, find we not that he held the Chastisement of one which molested the See of *Rome*, alike pleasing to God, as would have been the Holy War against the common Enemy of our Christian Faith ; so thought all the rest of those Bishops, and so much more (upon their several Occasions) declare themselves to think it, by how much they commonly were worse Men than this *Æneas Sylvius*. And good Reason was there that they should be of such Belief, or

endeavour to make the Christian World believe no otherwise, for the natural Constitution of their Estate (I mean since the Age of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*, or the Times not long before-going) hath urged them all hitherto; tho' peradventure some few Popes may have been over-ruled by their own private Nature, and thereby have swerved from the Rule of Policy.

To speak in general, whosoever hath Dominion absolute over some one Authority; less absolute over many more, will seek to draw those that are not wholly his own into intire Subjection.

It fares with politick Bodies, as with physical; each would convert all into their own proper Substance, and cast forth as Excrements what will not be changed.

We need not cite *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, nor *Philip* the Father of *Perseus*, Kings of *Macedon*, for Examples; of which the former brought the *Thes-salonians*, the latter would have brought the *Achaians*, and many Estates in *Greece* from the Condition of Followers and Dependents, into mere Vassalage.

Philip II. of *Spain* is yet fresh in Mind, who attempted the self-same upon the *Netherlands*.

Exceptions may be framed here against this, out of the honest, quiet, or timorous Disposition of some Princes; yet that all, or the most, are thus inclined, both Reason and Experience teach; yea, even our Cities and Corporations here in *England*, such as need the Protection of great Men, complain otherwhiles of their Patrons over-much Diligence, either in searching into their private Estates, or behaving themselves Master-like in Point of Government. But never hath Authority better Means to enlarge itself, than when it is founded upon Devotion: And yet never doth Authority of this Kind work to raise itself upon mere Dominion, until it fall into the Hands of those, whose Piety is more in seeming than in Deed.

The Levitical Priests, in the old Law, never arrogated unto themselves any Temporal or Coercive Power, nor advanced their Mitres against the Crown of *Israel*.
They

They well understood what Authority God had committed unto them, and rested therewithal content. Some wrangling hereabout hath been of late, the Pope's Flatterers labouring to prove, that the High Priests of old were not subject to the Kings of *Judah*; and Men of better Spirit and Learning have shewed them the contrary.

But whatsoever befel in those Days when there was no King in *Israel*, that is, before the Reign of *Saul*, or after the Captivity of *Babel*, sure it is, that the Sons of *Aaron* were always obedient to the Sons of *David*, and acknowledged them their Lords.

As for the Race of the *Maccabees*, that held both the Kingdom and the Priesthood at once, it falls not within this Consideration. The first thereof (of whom I read) that used the Advantage of Honour given him in Matter of Religion, towards the getting of Temporal Possessions, was (if not *Mahomet* himself) *Abubeker* the Successor unto *Mahomet*: This Man having obtained, by the Help of Friends, the miserable Happiness of being chosen Heir unto the foul Impostor in his Dignity of Prophet, made it one of his first Works to despoil poor *Alisse* the Nephew of *Mahomet*, and Heir of his great Riches, taking all from him by this Pretence, That to whom belonged the Succession in Wisdom, to him also belonged the Succession in Wealth: And this grew presently to be a famous Question among the Doctors of the *Saracen* Law. But however it were then decided, we see how the Mufti, or High Prelate, who is the only Oracle among the *Turks* in spiritual Matters, lives, and holds all that he hath at the Discretion of the great Sultan. Nevertheless, it should seem that the Doctrine of *Abubeker* hath not lost all Force; for the Examples are many in all *Sarazens* Lands, of Prophets or Decemors, who having got that Name, never rested until they became Kings.

The *Seriffo* in *Barbary* was one of the last, who having once acquired the Opinion of a Holy Man, after-

wards found means to become a Captain, and Lord of a small Territory ; and finally, increased his Followers, and withal his Bounds, so fast, and so far, as having made himself King of *Morocco*, he had the Grace to tell the King of *Fez* (lately his Sovereign) that both *Fez*, and all the Kingdoms of those Parts were belonging to his own Holiness : And this he made good by winning all soon after.

Whether the Claim which the Popes lay to the Supremacy over all Kingdoms and Estates had not Affinity with the Doctrine of *Abubeker*, let other Men judge. That their Practices to maintain it have been suitable to those of the *Seriffe*, all Histories do verify.

For when Pope *Gregory II.* procured the City of *Rome*, and some other Places in *Italy*, to rebel against the Emperor *Leo III.* what other Colour used he, than that he himself had excommunicated *Leo*, as an ungodly Prince, for breaking down Images that were worshipped in Churches ; when for this Reason (*Paul the Exarch*) Lieutenant unto the Emperor besieged *Rome*, with the Assistance of *Luitprand* King of the *Lombards* ? By what other Art did the Pope remove the Siege, than by persuading the *Lombards* with a Tale of *Peter* and *Paul*, that had consecrated the City of *Rome* with their precious Blood ? Thus was Devotion made the Cloak for Treason, and thus did the Popes first slip their Necks out of the Emperor's Collar.

Within very few Years after this, by the like religious Pretext, were those Princes of *France*, *Charles Martel*, *Pepin*, and *Charlemaign*, won to assist the Papacy against the *Lombards* ; yea, to give unto *St. Peter* the most Part of those Lands which the Pope now holds in *Italy*, and not restore them to the Emperor, from whom the *Lombards* had gotten them ; and thereunto *Pepin* was persuaded for his Soul's Health.

Yet had Pope *Zachary*, through the Opinion that went of his Holiness, done a notable good Office for *Pepin* before, when he released the *Frenchmen* of their Oath

Oath to King *Chilperick*, and was the Cause that *Pepin* was chosen in his stead, by saying, That rather he should be King, who did the King's Duty, than he who did it not.

In like Manner did Pope *Leo* recompence the Benefits of *Charlemaign*, by setting him up as Emperor in the *West* against those of *Constantinople*. But in these mutual Offices the Bishops did only help, with grateful Words, to adorn that Might which *Pepin* and *Charlemaign* had before acquired, whereas those Kings used Force of Arms to erect the *Papacy* into a Principality, that was yet held in a Vassalage unto themselves.

Now this could not satisfy the Ambition of that See, which gloried falsely to be the Holy See Apostolic: For as the Reputation of the *Roman* Prelates grew up in those blind Ages, under the Western Emperors, much faster than true Piety could cause it in former Times, when better Learning had flourished; so grew up in them withal a Desire of amplifying their Power, that they might be as great in Temporal Forces, as Men's Opinions had formed them in Spiritual Matters. Immediately therefore, upon the Death of *Charlemaign*, they began to neglect the Emperor's Consent in their Elections; and finding in them that afterwards reigned of the House of *France*, either too much Patience, or too much Weakness, they were bold, within seventy Years, to decree, That in the Creation of Popes the Emperor should have nothing at all to do. Having obtained this, it followed, that they should make themselves Lords over the whole Clergy in all Kingdoms.

But the Work was great, and could not be accomplish'd in haste; for they were much disturbed at home with the People of *Rome*, who seeing about fifty Popes, or rather Maintainers of Papacy, would now have them called *Monsters of St. Per's Chair*, despising that Hypocrisy which the World abroad did reverence as Holiness.

Likewise the Empire falling from the Line of *Charlemaign* to the mighty House of *Saxony*, was so strongly upheld

upheld by the first Princes of that Race, as it greatly troubled the Ambition of those aspiring Spirits of Prelates. Yet no Impediment could always be forced to withstand the Violence of so seeming Sanctity.

The *Polonians*, *Hungarians*, and some other far remote Nations, had yielded themselves in Subjection, more than merely Spiritual, even to those Popes whom *Italy* knew to be detestable Men.

As for the *Roman* Citizens, they were chastised by the Sword, and taught to acknowledge the Pope their Lord, though they knew not by what Right ; long it was, indeed, ere they could (with much ado) be thoroughly tamed ; because they knowing the Lewdness of their Prelates and this Court, the Devotion unto him (the Trade by which now they live) was very small ; because also they were the Pope's domestic Forces, against which no Prince did happily contend : But finally, the Pope's Arms prevailed, or when his own were too weak, the Emperor's, or other Princes. The Sword of the People, even of their own Subjects, hath been used, by teaching all Christians in our western World a false Lesson, viz. That it is lawful and meritorious to rebel against Kings excommunicated and deposed by the Pope. This Curse was first laid upon the Emperor *Henry IV.* by Pope *Hildebrand*, or *Gregory VII.* It is true that I said before, that *Leo* of *Constantinople* had felt the same, though not in the same sort ; for *Leo* being excommunicated, was not withal deposed only, but suffered a Revolt of some *Italian* Subjects ; and one may say that the *German* Emperor deserv'd this Plague, since the Founder thereof had given Countenance to the Popes rebelling against their Sovereigns, the Emperors of *Constantinople* : Howsoever it were, when *Hildebrand* had accursed, and cast down from his Throne, *Henry IV.* there was none so hardy as to defend their injured Lord against the counterfeit Name of *St. Peter* ; wherefore he was fain to humble himself before *Hildebrand* ; upon whom he waited three
Days

Days barefoot in the Winter, ere he could be admitted into his Presence ; neither yet could he otherwise get Absolution, than by submitting his Estate unto the Pope's good Pleasure. What was his Fault ? He had refused to yield up to the Pope the Investiture of Bishops, and Collation of Ecclesiastical Dignities within his Dominions ; a Right that had always belonged unto Princes until that Day. It were superfluous to tell how grievously he was afflicted all his Life after, notwithstanding his Submission. In brief, the unappeaseable Rage of *Hildebrand*, and his Successors, never left persecuting him, by raising one Rebellion after another : Yea, his own Children rose up against him ; till despoiled of his Crown, he was fain to beg Food of the Bishop of *Spires*, promising to earn it in a Church of his own building, by doing there a Clerk's Duty, for he would serve the Choir ; and not obtaining this, he pined away and died.

That Bishop of *Spires* dealt herein, perhaps, rather fearfully than cruelly ; for he had to terrify him the Example of *Vitello*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, chief Prelate among the *Germans*, who was condemned of Heresy, having deny'd that the Emperor might be deprived of his Crown by the Pope's Authority.

If Princes therefore be careful to exclude the Doctrine of *Hildebrand* out of their Dominions, who can blame them of Rigour. This Example of *Hildebrand*, though it could not have been forgot, might have been omitted, had it not been seconded with many of the same Nature : But this was neither one Pope's Fault, nor one Prince's Destiny. He must write a Story of the Empire, that means to tell of all their Dealings in this Kind ; as how he wrought upon *Henry V.* whom they had set up against his Father ; what horrible Effusion of Blood they caused by their often thundering upon *Frederick*, and how they rested not till they had made the Empire headless about seventeen Years together.

Those

Those Things moved *Rodolph* Earl of *Hapsburg*, who was chosen Emperor after that long Vacation, to refuse the Ceremony of being crowned at *Rome*, though he were thereto urged by the Electors; for (said he) our *Cæsars* have gone to *Rome* as the foolish Beasts in *Æsop's* Fables went to the Lion's Den, leaving very goodly Footsteps of their Journey thitherwards, but not the like of their Return.

The same Opinion most of the succeeding Emperors held, or almost all, neglecting the *Roman* Coronation; good Cause why, since the Popes (besides many Extortions which they practised about that Ceremony) arrogated thence unto themselves, that the Empire was held of them in Homage; and dealt they not after the same Fashion with other Kingdoms?

What Right had *St. Peter* to the Crowns of *Sicily*, and of *Naples*? The *Roman* Princes won those Lands from the *Saracens*, who had formerly taken them from the Empire of *Constantinople*: The same *Romans* had also been mighty Defenders of the Papacy in many Dangers; yet when Time served, the Pope took upon him as Lord paramount of those Countries, to drive out one King and set up another, with a bloody Confusion of all *Italy*, retaining the Sovereignty to himself.

In *France* he had the Daring to pronounce himself superior to the King in all Matters, both Temporal and Spiritual.

The Crown of *Poland* he forced to hold of his Mitre, by imposing a Subjection in way of Penance, for that the *Polish* King had caused one *St. Stanislaus* to be slain.

For the Death of *St. Thomas Becket*, and (more strangely) for a Refusal of an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom his Holiness had appointed, he imposed the like Penance upon *England*.

Also when our King *Edward I.* made War upon the *Scots*, Word came from *Rome*, that he should surcease,

cease, for that the Kingdom of *Scotland* belonged to the Pope's Chapel.

A great Oversight it was of *St. Peter*, that he did not accurse *Nero*, and all Heathen Princes, whereby the Pope's Chapel ought to have gotten all that the Devil offered, and our Saviour Christ refused: Yet what Need was there of such a Band, since Friar *Vincent* of *Valvarda* could tell *Atabalippa* King of *Peru*, That all the Kingdoms of the Earth were the Pope's, who had bestowed more than half thereof upon the King of *Spain*. If the Pope will have it so, it must be so, otherwise, I should have interpreted that Place of *Genesis*, *Increase and multiply, and fill the Earth*, as spoken to *Noah* and his Children, not as directed only to *Tubal*, *Namar*, and *Phutt*, the supposed Fathers of the old *Ibreans*, *Goths*, and *Moors*, of whom the *Spanish* Blood is compounded; but of such impudent Presumption in disposing of Countries far removed, and whereto the Sword must acquire a better Title, the Mischief is not presently discovered.

It were well if his Holiness had not loved to set the World in an Uproar, by nourishing Wars among them that respected him as a common Father.

His dispensing with Oaths taken for Agreement between one King and another, or between Kings and Subjects, do speak no better of him; for by what Right was it that *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* wan the Kingdom of *Navarre*? Why did not the Confederacy that was between *Lewis XII.* of *France* and the *Venetians* hinder that King from warring upon *Venice*? Why did not the like between *England* and *France* hinder our King *Henry VIII.* from warring upon the Son of King *Lewis*? Was it not the Pope who did set on the *French*, to the End that himself might get *Ravenna* from the *Venetians*? Was it not the same Pope, who afterwards (upon Desire to drive the *French* out of *Italy*) excommunicated *Lewis* and his Aherents; by Virtue of which

Excommu-

Excommunication, *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* seized upon *Navarre*.

And served not the same Warrant to set our *Henry* upon the Back of *France* ; but this was not our King's Fault, more than all the People ; we might with Shame confess it, if other Countries had not been as blindly superstitious as our Fathers. That a Bark of Apples, blessed by the Pope, and sent hither for Presents to those that would be forward in the War upon *France*, made all our *English* hasty to take Arms ; in such sort, as the *Italians* wondered, and laughed to see our Men no' less greedy of those Apples than *Eve* was of the forbidden Fruit, for which they were to hazard their Lives in an unjust War. Few Ages have wanted such, and more grievous Examples of the Pope's Tumultuous Disposition ; but these were among the least that fell out before his Unholiness was detected. Now for his dispensing between Kings and their Subjects, we need not seek Instances far from home.

He absolved our King *John* of an Oath given to the Barons and People, the Barons and People he afterwards discharged of their Allegiance to King *John*.

King *Henry III.* had appeased his Land, (how wisely I say not) by taking such an Oath as his Father had done, swearing, he was a Knight, a Christian, and a King : But in a Sermon at *Paul's*, People were taught how little was to be reposed to such Assurance, the Pope's Dispensation being there openly read, which pronounced that Oath void. Good Cause why ; for that King had the Patience to be like neither Knight nor King, but as the Pope's Tenant and Rent-gatherer in *England*. But when the same King adventured to murmur, the Pope could threaten to teach him his Duty, with a Vengeance, and make him know what it was to winch, and play the *Frederick*.

Thus we see what has been his Custom ; to oppress Kings by their People, and the People by their Kings ; yet this was for serving his own Turn.

Wherein

Wherein had our King *Henry VI.* offended him? (which King, Pope *Julius* would after, for a little Money, make a Saint) nevertheless, the Pope's absolving of *Richard Duke of York* from that honest Oath which he had given, by Mediation of all this Land to that good King, occasioned both the King and the Duke's Ruin, and therewithal all those long and cruel Wars between the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, and brought all *England* into a horrible Combustion. What he meant by this I know not, unless to verify the Proverb, *Omnia Romæ Venalia.*

I will not urge the Dispensation whereby the Pope released King *Philip II.* of *Spain* from his solemn Oath, by which he was bound to maintain the Privileges of the *Netherlands*; though the Papal Indulgence hath scarce as yet left working, and been the Cause of so many hundred Thousands slain, for these last forty Years, in the *Netherlands.*

Neither will I urge the Pope's encouraging of *Henry II.* and his Sons, to the last, against the *French* Protestants, the Cause of the first three Civil Wars; and lastly, of the levying of the *Byrons*, in which there have perished no less than in the *Low-Countries.*

For our Country, it affords an Example of fresh Memory; since we should have had as furious a War as ever, both upon us and among us, in the Days of our late famous Sovereign Queen *Elizabeth*, if Pope *Pius's* Bull could have gored as well as he could bellow.

Therefore it were not amiss to answer by Herald the next pontifical Attempt of like Nature, rather sending Defiance, as to an Enemy, than publishing Answers as to one that had here to do by any lawful Power, either in Civil or Ecclesiastical, after such Time as *Britain* was won from the *Roman* Empire.

For howsoever it were ordered, in some of the first holy general Councils, that the Pope of *Rome* should be Patriarch over these Quarters; yea, or were it sup-
posed

posed that the forged Canons, by which he now challengeth more than Precedency and Supremacy, had also been made indeed, yet could this little help his Claim in Kingdoms that hold not of the Empire : For those right holy Fathers did not make Truth, but religiously expounded it by Virtue of Ecclesiastical Government ; they did not create Princes, but ordered the Discipline of the Countries which they then had.

There were Assemblies of all the Bishops in the *Roman* World, and with the *Roman* Dominion only they meddled, requisite it is, that the Faith which they taught should be embraced in all Countries, as it ought likewise to be entertained in the *East*, if the same had been in like sort illustrated ; not by them, but by General Councils of the Bishops in the great Kingdom of the *Abyssines*, which is thought to have been Christian in those Days : But it was not requisite, nor is, that the Bishop of the *Abyssines* and of *India* should be under Direction of the Patriarch of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* ; questionless, those godly Fathers of the *Nicene*, and of the *Chalcedonian* Council so thought : For they took not upon them to order the Church-Government in *India*, where St. *Thomas* had preached, nor to range the Subjects of *Prester-John* (as we call them) under any of themselves, much less to frame an Hierarchy upon Earth, whereto Men of all Nations whatsoever should be subject in Spiritual Obedience.

If *Constantine* and his Successors, the *Roman* Emperors, could have won all *Asia*, like it is, that in the Council following more Patriarchs would have been ordained for the Ecclesiastical Government of that large Continent, and not all those vast Countries left unto him of *Antioch* and *Constantinople*. But since, contrariwise, the Empire became Losers, the Patriarchs, whose Jurisdiction depended upon the Empire, became Losers also.

We grant that even in the Times of Persecution, before Christian Bishops durst hold open Assemblies, there

There was given special Honour to the Bishops that were over the chief Cities, that Unity might be the better preserved, and Heresy kept out of the Church ; but this Honour was no more than a Precedency and Dignity without coercive Power, extending no farther than to Matter of Religion, and not having to do (but in the general Way of Christian Love) with any Strangers.

We, therefore, that are no Dependents on the Empire, ought not to be troubled with the Authority (be it what it may be) of any Assemblies of their godly Fathers, which all Subjects of that Empire believe are ordained for their own better Government : But rather should regard the Bishop of *Rome*, as the Islanders of *Jersey* and *Guernsey* do him of *Constance* in *Normandy*, that is, nothing at all ; since by that *French* Bishop's Refusal to swear unto the King, those Isles were annexed to the Diocese of *Winchester*.

The last Kind of War we shall treat of, is the *Unnatural*, otherwise called the *Intestine* or *Civil War* ; and though it has the same Motives of Ambition, Avarice, or Revenge, as the Arbitrary and Customary War, yet is it of a quite different Nature, and must be otherwise defined ; for that is to use Arms to redress Injuries, to conquer, or oppose Strangers, under Sovereign Authority ; but this is to slay and oppress our Countrymen, our Friends, and even our own Relations, without Injury offer'd, though pretended, to gratify some exorbitant Passion upon the Public, under no Authority or legal Command, but directly contrary and opposite to the Sovereign Power, and to the very Being of Society itself. For a Member of a Community, or civil Society, has no more Right to disturb the whole upon any Failure (if any be) than he has to cut his own Throat, because some Part of his Body offends him. And under this Principle, so founded in Nature, if Men did not acquiesce, the World would be in a constant Uproar ; since the best and easiest Go-

vernment is just as far from being perfect, as the Men are that compose it.

How vain then is it to be disturbed at that whose Cause is beyond ourselves.

Tacitus says, we ought to submit to what is present, and should wish for good Princes, but whatsoever they are endure them ; and *Machiavel* terms this a golden Sentence, adding, that whosoever does otherwise, ruins both himself and Country. Certain it is, the Condition of no Nation was ever bettered by a Civil War ; for when the People and the Government draw the Sword against each other, all former Compacts and Agreements for securing of Liberty and Property are dissolved, and become void ; for flying to Arms is a State of War, which is the mere State of Nature, of Men out of Community, where all have an equal Right to all Things ; and I shall enjoy my Life, my Substance, or what is dear to me, no longer than he that has more Cunning, or is stronger than I, will give me Leave : For natural Conscience is not a sufficient Curb to the violent Passions of Men out of the Laws of Society. And the few that shall survive the Calamities and Devastations that Ambition or Revenge shall make in civil Dissention, must ever after submit to the arbitrary Power of the conquering Party. Now under what civil Stipulations and Covenants can a People be with their Governors, that can put them in a worse Condition than this. And that any particular Government is now *Jure Divino* is hard to affirm, and of no great Use to Mankind. For let the Government of any Country where I am a Subject be by divine Institution, or by Compact, I am equally bound to observe its Laws, and endeavour its Prosperity. For I take it to be true what *Plato* says ; *Qui legibus pie & prudenter latis inservit, inservit Deo.* [That the Duty I owe to God obliges me to conform to the Laws of my Country, which are for the orderly and well-being of every Individual.] For God is the God of Order and Harmony,

mony, and not Confusion. Also the Schools affirm, that *leges humane obligant conscientiam*; [that the Consciences of Men are bound by human Laws.]

I'll only mention more, the undeniable Authority of Scripture, which plainly commands us to *Submit to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake*,* [that is, Obey the Laws of Men where the Law of God is silent,] and were not Mankind thus obliged, all Governments of Church and State would soon fall into Confusion.

And if the Divines do rightly infer from the sixth Commandment, *Thou shalt not Kill*, that scandalizing one's Neighbour with false and malicious Reports, whereby I vex his Spirit, and consequently impair his Health, is a Degree of Murder; I may affirm, that Factions, Rumours and Discourses, which alienate the Minds of People, and impeach and weaken the Government, is a Degree of Treason, and consequently a Breach of the fifth Commandment.

I know 'tis said, tho' a People, leaving the State of Nature, have entered into a Community, and made Laws, as they justly may to preserve that Community, which Laws are to be obeyed under the Penalty of displeasing God himself; yet the Administrators of those Laws, being visibly and incurably defective in preserving the whole, may be removed; for, *cujus est dare, ejus est disponere*: Where the People have no such Right, they have lost all Liberty.

Therefore wise Governors will not bear hard upon the People; for when public Abuses come to the Height, that the Generality are sensible of them, and the true Majority have a Mind to discharge such from the Government, whether single Person or Council, I know not who shall prevent it, or against what Law they offend; since no Prince can shew a patriarchal Right, and a Community is under Conditions.

I only mention these two last Paragraphs as the utmost the most zealous Advocates can urge for the

* 1 Pet. ii 13.

Power of the People, and it amounts to no more than this ; where the Person or Persons possessing the supreme Power are incurably defective, and this plainly appears to the Majority of the People, they have a Right to change the same, I think naturally they must. But even the Majority itself, where there is no such plain dangerous Defect, cannot in Right remove the Persons, and alter the same ; for then all Governments every Day would be at the Will and Pleasure of the People ; and I am sure Arbitrariness in a Multitude, is far more dangerous than in a single Person : The Experience of all Ages has found this to be true.

It is no Wonder that the public Actions and Affairs of State should meet with many Censures and Enemies, since few Men can gain their own inward Approbation of what they daily do themselves ; so contradictory do Passions make Men act to their own Reason and Conscience. It was a home Reproof our Saviour gave the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, when they seemed forward to have the Woman stoned that was taken in Adultery ; *Let him that is without Sin cast the first Stone.* Self-Conviction forced the *Pharisees* to withdraw, and leave the Woman without Accusers. I therefore say, whoever impartially considers the Corruptions of his own Heart, the many Failings of his Understanding, and is not very tender in opening and manifesting the Crimes and Failings of others, wants the Modesty even of these *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, and may expect a sharper Reproof. 'Tis an admirable Direction, much known, but little considered, that *Thales* left, as the Characteristic of his Wisdom, *Nosce te ipsum ; Friend, know thyself.* 'Tis a hard Point, and not every where found. We labour hard to publish our Abilities, and conceal our Infirmities. And our Enquiry into ourselves is so slight and partial, that few Men are really what they appear to themselves to be. The vain Opiniator, in Pursuit of some extravagant Hopes, involves himself in innumerable Intricacies and hazardous Circumstances,
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and driven by the Force of Passion, from the Dictates of Reason and the common Paths of Sense, falls into inevitable Calamities ; and having thus expos'd himself, clamours against Providence for being unfortunate. These being not a small Number, are always ready to join with any Party in civil Dissentions, whereby they hope either to mend their Condition, or get a good Excuse for the bad one they are in.

The insatiable Minds of Men impatient under what's present, fond of any Alteration, headed by those that will be under no Dominion but that of Avarice, Ambition, or Revenge, are the original Cause of those Calamities a Civil War brings upon a Nation. And when we say we are fallen into bad Times, we mean no otherwise but that we are fallen amongst a wicked Generation of Men. For the Sun, the mediate vivifying Cause of all Things here below, and constant Measurer of Time, keeps its steady Course. The Condition of the Public grows worse, as Men grow more wicked ; for in all Ages, as the Morals of Men were depraved and Vice increased, the Commonwealth declined.

All Kingdoms being but the Connexion of Families, the Prince thereof is truly termed the Father of the Country, the grand *Pater familias*, the great Master of the Household. Now if the Domesticks of a Family be over-run with the deadly Sin of Pride and Luxury, Sloth and Rapine, it is a fair Sign of its utter Ruin. Thus in the larger Rule of Government there is the like Dangers of Ruin, where the Ministers and public Officers, who are the Hands of a Nation, are basely corrupted, serving the Public no farther than it serves their own Interest ; and so they do but gain themselves, care not who loses, or what the Government suffers. These seeming Friends are the worst of Enemies ; they had better never have been born, they are as the corrupt Tree which cannot bring forth good Fruit, absolute Strangers (in Practice) to Prudence, Justice, and

the other Virtues rightly called Cardinal ; for upon the Observance of them does the Safety and Prosperity of Mankind depend. That ever such Men should be preferred is a Neglect in any Government ; for there can be no Merit in any Man that wants Honesty. 'Tis said for Excuse, that the Heart of Man cannot be known before Trial, but the Behaviour of a Man in an Employment may be well guess'd at, by the Manner of his getting himself in ; for if he owes his Advance to Money, or Favour purely, then was there no Regard to Ability and Merit ; and what Corruption must be expected in an Office where so worthless a Person is Possessor of it ? Wise Men will assent that the Welfare of a Kingdom principally depends upon the Honesty and Ability of its Officers ; where such are wanting, and the contrary employed, there will be Hardships and Complaints, and Abettors easily found to raise from thence Commotions and civil Dissentions.

It will hardly be found, upon strict Examination, that any of the many Civil Wars that History speaks of, had their Rise purely from open Abuses in the Government : For when public Abuses become so notorious that the People are universally grieved and affected therewith, how can such a Government gain a Party strong enough to make a Civil War, since we cannot suppose any considerable Number of Men can be so senseless as to fight for those that abuse them. And if the Generality perceive themselves necessarily obliged to alter the Administrators of a Government, as it may be done by Right, so it will be done without Bloodshed. It follows then, that the Subtilty used towards some weak Men, joined with others, over-ruled by the Wealth and Authority of some great ambitious Persons, is the main Foundation of all civil Bloodshed. It may be affirmed, the Number of those that have been slaughtered by their Fellow-creatures, exceed the Number of all the Inhabitants that ever were at one Time living upon the Face of the Earth ; yet very few
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of this infinite Number, thus untimely slain, were ever Masters of the Grounds of the Dispute for which they suffered, or the true Reason of their being led to the Battle, the Truth with much Artifice being kept from all but what were Parties to the Design resolved on. What deluded Wretches then have a great Part of Mankind been, who have either yielded themselves to be slain in Causes, which if truly known their Heart would abhor, or been the bloody Executioners of other Men's Ambition. 'Tis a hard Fate to be slain for what a Man should never willingly fight ; yet few Soldiers have laid themselves down in the Bed of Honour under better Circumstances. It was not Ignorance made *Monluc*, Marshal of *France*, confess, that if the Mercies of God were not infinite, none of his Profession could expect any.

And because many People's Minds are better engaged by Examples out of History, than by Direction and Precept, I'll mention some few Instances, as related by the most known Authors, for the Truth of the Proposition here asserted. History doth plainly tell us, that that furious War (which broke out in *France*) in the Reign of *Francis II.* and which occasioned most barbarous Murders, Devastations, and such other Calamities (which are the common Products of civil Com-motions, and by continuing near forty Years had reduc'd *France* to the last Misery) was begun and carried on by some few great Men of ambitious and turbulent Spirits, deluding the People with the Cloak and Mask only of Religion, to gain their Assistance to what they did more especially aim at. 'Tis plain the Admiral *Coligny* advised the Prince of *Conde* to side with the *Huguenots*, not only out of Love to their Persuasion, but to gain a Party, and be made thereby the stronger ; neither can any Man think that the Papists, out of the Principle of the Christian Religion, which enjoins us to be meek and charitable, did in few Days Space cut the Throats of near thirty Thousand Protestants in

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France,

France, many of whom were Men of great Fame and Quality, but out of Fear of their Numbers and Power : These being removed they made sure of grasping to themselves all Rule and Dominion. So that this *Parisian* Massacre had no more Religion in it than the *Sicilian* Vespers, when in two Hours Time all the *French* throughout the whole Kingdom of *Sicily* were at once, with great Barbarity, massacred, for no other Reason, but that the *Sicilians* might get their Room.

'Tis a severe Fate for a People to be overcome by Enemies, who fight not to increase their Subjects and enlarge their Dominions, but to lay waste their Enemies Cities, destroy their People, and to extirpate their very Name and Being from the Face of the Earth ; and such was the War between *Rome* and *Carthage*. They were so equal in Wealth and Power, that one seemed to eclipse the growing Greatness of the other, being Competitors for that Sovereignty, which unless one was totally destroy'd, the other could never absolutely have. The discerning Princes of *Carthage* clearly saw this, and no doubt upon this Account it was, that *Hamilcar*, who himself had saved them, made his Son *Hannibal* swear, while but nine Years old, to pursue *Rome* with immortal Hatred. At twenty-six he is made General of the *Carthaginian* Forces in *Spain* ; upon Successes there he leaves the Command of *Spain* to *Asdrubal* his Brother, passing himself into *Italy*, convincing the *Romans* he was as ready to assault as they. The Care he had for his Country, (which true Honour always prefers before any private Interest) made him despise the Dangers he was sure to meet with there ; and after many sharp Encounters, in some of which he was dangerously wounded, and tedious Marches, in one of which, passing the *Apenine* Mountains, by Severity of Weather he lost the Use of one Eye, he gains the Character of a great Commander, both for the Perfection of his military Skill, and Greatness of his Spirit. This made him feared Abroad, and much honoured at Home ;

Home ; but Envy, that always attends great Merit, not as a Friend to support, but as a Spy to betray, began to draw a black Cloud over *Hannibal's* Performances, with sinister Suggestions, which increased equally with his rising Fame : So that after his glorious Success at the Battle of *Canna*, where he totally overthrew the *Roman* Army, his Enemies growing impatient at the great Honours which he continually obtained by the happy Progress of his Arms, though managed with as much Faithfulness to his Country as Bravery towards his Enemies, were resolved to ruin him, whatever the Public suffer'd by it. Hereupon, *Hanno*, an ungrateful Nobleman of that *Carthage* for whose Liberty *Hannibal* had fought so many Battles, with his envious Accomplices, when Account was given of *Hannibal's* Proceedings and Victories to the *Carthaginian* Senate ; and that he only wanted those Supplies which he then demanded to march even to the Walls of *Rome*, his Victory at *Canna* having laid the Way open, so managed the Matter in the Senate, out of pure Malice to *Hannibal's* Person, that Succours were neglected to be sent, whereby the *Romans* gained more Advantage than all their Armies could do ; and *Hannibal* not only lost the Opportunity of being Master of that City, which boasted to be the Mistress of the World, but saw the *Carthaginian* Interest in a fair Way of being utterly lost, which they would not see themselves till it was too late to prevent. For as Authors allow it probable, that if *Hannibal* had received suitable Supplies to his Occasions and Request, he had torn up the *Roman* Empire by the Roots ; so the Defects of Men and Money must not only hinder his advancing, but must necessarily make him lose Ground ; and being made unfortunate, he must be made culpable, and so his Enemies procured his being called home, for not doing what they had contrived he should not. He received the Message with much Concern, abominating the base Treachery his Enemies had acted towards their

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own Country as well as him ; crying out, that *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, and not *Scipio* the *Roman* had destroyed *Carthage*. Upon his Departure the *Romans* appointed an Holiday for Thanks to the Gods, acknowledging a braver Officer could not be employed against them. In a little Time the *Romans* became Masters of all, even of the Liberties of *Carthage* itself, upon whom they imposed base and servile Conditions, the just Fruits of their Usage of *Hannibal*.

Carthage being thus betrayed by a Faction at home, whose Safety *Hannibal* had often preferr'd before his Life ; but being now made incapable of serving those he loved best, his honest Countrymen, to avoid the being an Eye-witness of their Miseries, and himself being taken and made the Reproach and Scorn of his insulting Enemies, he withdrew into *Asia*, trusts himself with *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, whom the *Romans* presently demand as their most spiteful Enemy ; whereupon this wretched King, to content the *Romans*, contrary to the Laws of Hospitality and Faith given, set a Guard about *Hannibal's* Lodgings, who seeing himself inclosed and hemmed in, took Poison, which he always carried about him. Thus died, through ambitious Envy, that devours itself and all about it, the faithfullest Subject that ever Country had, and one of the greatest Captains that ever the World bred ; unfortunate, but famous.

Carthage soon found its Period, when in the *Romans* Power, and *Hannibal* its Defender was removed ; and the sooner, because the *Romans* considered that the Mastery of *Carthage* was not so much owing to their Arms as the Faction within itself. Thus their Fears destroyed what the Envy of others had betrayed ; for *Paterculus*, their own Author, says, *Neque se Romanam securam speravit fore, si nomen usquam stantis maneret Carthaginis* ; that *Rome* was not secure while *Carthage* was in Being. And the same Author says, after reciting that *Scipio* had razed the very Foundations of that famous

famous City, *Hunc finem habuit Romani Imperii Carthago Æmula* ; this was the Fate of *Carthage* the Competitor of *Rome*'s Greatness.

It is confess'd by all, that the Gall and Rancour which were rais'd in *Hanno* at those Merits in others, which he in no wise could pretend to, were the Cause of the utter Destruction of this populous and rich City of *Carthage*, once equal to *Rome* for Power and Wealth, and for Antiquity superior, its Foundation being sixty-five Years older than that of *Rome*'s.

It might be useful to set out and delineate to Mankind the Arts and Disguises, the false Topics and Mediums that *Hanno* and such factious Persons as he must use to make their venomous Intentions and false Reasonings pass undiscovered by a wise Senate. I know there are some Historians of good Credit, that lay the Blame of retarding the Supply to be sent to *Hannibal*, which lost *Carthage*, to the natural sparing Humour of the *Carthaginians* ; but it does not seem probable to me, that the *Carthaginians* after so many bloody and expensive Wars with the *Romans*, more to defend than enlarge their Territories, in this last War, wherein both Parties seem'd determin'd to have all their Differences finally decided by the Fortune of War, resolving to be either Slaves or Conquerors, should suffer the greatest Victory they ever obtained, or that the *Romans* ever lost, to be of no Effect and Advantage through unseasonable Avarice. Certainly the Fatality of *Carthage* proceeded from a Faction at home, which will eat the very Heart of the strongest constituted Government, and may never be perceived till it is past Recovery.

'Tis remarkable, that in this War also the *Romans* had some base Spirits among them, who, to make themselves popular, had run *Rome* into great Hazard of receiving the same Fate from the *Carthaginians* which *Carthage* received after from the *Romans* ; and 'tis no mean Instance of the Mutability of human Affairs, that *Rome*, from a low and despairing Condition, should
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in a little Time be able to tread upon their Conquerors ; and *Carthage*, from the highest Successes, fall so low as to be deny'd the Freedom of being a People in the World. This looks as if some were to have the shew of Happiness only, that their Misery may seem the sharper ; warning us, that when Fortune comes smiling, she often designs the most Mischief. In Truth, their Misfortune proceeded from being wise too late, they did not know the Causes till the Effects were past. So *fero sapiunt Phryges*, Experience is not worth the Cost ; and to buy Wisdom at one's own Ruin, is like buying a noble Medicine to cure the Diseases of a Man that is dead.

But to mention the Stories which shew that base Men of little Ability may be popular in a Government, and that it is dangerous when they are so: *M. Centenius Penula* (whom *Machiavel* calls a very base Fellow) after *Hannibal* had been in *Italy* eight or ten Years, and had filled the Country with bloody Slaughters of the *Romans*, to the great Terror of *Rome* itself, being swelled to a great Conceit of himself, by the airy Applauses and Opinions of the Vulgar, had the Confidence to enter the Senate, offering, that if they would give him Authority to levy an Army, he would in a short Time deliver into their Hands *Hannibal* either dead or alive. The Senate thought his Demand very rash, but considering how acceptable such a Proposal would sound in the Ears of the People, durst not deny him for fear of a Tumult ; thus they were forced to sacrifice their own Judgments, an Army of Friends, and almost their whole State, to satisfy the Humour of the People centered in one weak Man. The Success was no better than the Expectation ; for *Hannibal* meeting *Penula*, near *Capua*, totally routs his whole Army, so that of sixteen Thousand, not two Hundred escaped.

And not long before, *Terentius Varro*, a mean Man in all Respects, through the Favour of the Multitude was chosen Consul, notwithstanding all the Opposition
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the Senate could make, apprehending the ill Consequences which must happen from such a rash and inconsiderate Commander in the Army. However, to please the People, he boldly gave out in all Meetings and public Places of *Rome*, that he would certainly defeat *Hannibal*. The Rashness of this Man occasioned the Battle of *Canna*, and the total Overthrow of the *Roman* Army there ; so that without Opposition the Conqueror might have march'd to *Rome*, and by laying waste that City have put an End to the War ; and 'twas reckon'd a Fault in *Hannibal* he did not ; *Maherbal*, an Officer, telling him, he knew how to get, but not to use a Victory. Thus the *Roman* State was brought to the very Brink of Ruin and Destruction, through the Means only of a hot-headed Favourite of the People.

These three, *Varro*, *Penula*, and *Hanno*, are always spoken of with Infamy, the Baseness of their Minds and Lives leaving a suitable Character behind them ; the two first endangering, the last absolutely ruining a large and mighty Commonwealth ; yet, peradventure, when they saw the Conclusion of their Treacheries and Follies was the Ruin of their Country, they might have the Fool's Excuse in Reserve, That they did not intend it ; which rather aggravates than lessens their Crimes ; for he that begins a Mischief upon a Supposition, that at such a Time he will put a Stop to it, will find himself miserably mistaken.

And as these Persons were justly branded for the Calamity they brought upon their Country, so it ought to be considered how far the Senators themselves, both of *Carthage* and *Rome*, were accessory to their own Misfortune. The Senate of *Rome* was well acquainted with the Inabilities of *Varro* and *Penula* for such Commands as the People press'd they might have, expecting from their Conduct nothing but Ruin to the Public ; yet the Refusal of these the Senate did believe would put the common People into such an Uproar, that

that they ran a Hazard of their own Lives ; therefore they chose rather to gratify the People, though to the apparent Hazard of the whole Commonwealth, than venture their own Safety. This is *censura difficilis*, a severe Reflection, especially upon a Senate composed of *Romans*, who boasted of a public Spirit beyond the ordinary Pitch of Mankind. Yet the Generality of the Fault will much abate the Blame ; for 'tis believed there are few national or civil Assemblies in the World, but have greater Care of themselves than of the Public.

Certainly the Spirit of *Attilius Regulus* was above most Men's Imitation, who being a Prisoner at *Carthage*, was suffered to go to *Rome* with their Ambassadors, upon Faith given to return if Peace was not made ; against which *Regulus* himself, when he came to *Rome*, gave Reasons to the Senate out of Love to his Country ; whereupon the Senate and his own Relations desired and advised him to stay, and not return to the *Carthaginians*, enraged by their Disappointment of a Peace, and who, they were informed, were resolved to use him barbarously : He told them he had so much of the Spirit of a *Roman*, that he could not consent to what was base or dishonourable ; and that the Tortures of a Rack were not so much to be feared, as the Shame of an infamous Action ; because the first only touch'd the Body, but the other pierc'd the very Soul. He returned therefore to *Carthage*, to be just to his Word, where they put him to Death with the extremest Tortures their Wit could invent.

A great Instance to what a Contempt of this Life, and the Pains or Pleasures that belong to it, a mere natural Man may bring himself, that will free himself from the base and slavish Importunities of the Senses, and be guided only by the noble and ever happy Dictates of Honour and Justice ; and that the Pains of the Body are much inferior to those of the Mind ; so that the Purity of the Mind is to be preferred before the Pleasure or Being of the Body.

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But no Senate, nor Civil Assembly, can be under such natural Impulses to Honour and Justice as single Persons; for politic Members meet with neither Encouragement nor Reproaches, for what was the Effect of Number only. For a Majority is no Body when that Majority is separated, and a collective Body can have no Synteresis or divine Ray, which is in the Mind of every Man, never assenting to Evil, but upbraiding and tormenting him when he does it: But the Honour and Conscience that lies in the Majority is too thin and diffusive to be efficacious; for a Number can do a great Wrong, and call it Right, and not one of that Majority blush for it. Hence it is that though a public Assembly may lie under great Censures, yet each Member looks upon himself as little concerned; this must be the Reason why a *Roman* Senate should act with less Spirit and less Honour than any single *Roman* would do. And this Compliance of the *Roman* Senate with the Multitude, contrary to their Reason, and below their Honour, shews, that when the Commonalty are in their Heats and Commotions, they must be forc'd or comply'd with, being rarely capable of Reason and Persuasion; and that it is an *Herculean* Labour to persuade them from an imaginary to a real Good. Thus to free themselves from the Difficulties of reasoning with the Multitude, it was the Wisdom of the ancient Lawgivers, such as *Numa*, *Lycurgus*, and *Solon*, to assign the Laws they made for the Benefit of the People (who understanding nothing, suspect every thing) to some Deity, that they might be received without Opposition or Contempt. The Vulgar are easily moved, as *Machiavel* says, by Arguments that tend to present Gain or Loss, their Minds being wholly taken up with the present, are ever void of that Wisdom which is the Result of Reflection, not capable, by comparing the present with what has been, of making a rational Conjecture of what may be.

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As to the *Carthaginian* Senators it must be said, that though by their Easiness of believing crafty Insinuations, raised by base and designing Spirits, was lost the greatest General then in the World, and with him, themselves, and the whole Commonwealth. It is hard to say that Charity, that divine Virtue so necessary in single Persons, is dangerous in Governors; yet in them 'tis Prudence to believe all Men are bent to Mischief, and that Good is seldom done but through Force or Fear, and that most have a Wit to put in Practice the Wickedness of their Minds as often as Occasion shall serve. And to this innate Disposition to Evil is often added Hypocrisy, making the greatest Shews of Probity and Goodness when they intend to deceive most. Thus *Hanno*, under the Disguise of being a Patriot, ruined his Country.

Rome, hitherto, had beheld with Triumph the Miseries of War in other Nations, commanding, by the Right of Conquest, the Lives and Fortunes of the best Part of the World, levelling with the Ground their Cities, and leading their Princes in Chains; but all terrestrial Felicities must have an End, and triumphing *Rome* itself is at last so full of Miseries, as if all the Cruelties and Barbarities her insulting Armies had exercised on the Nations round about were returned into her own Bowels, managed by those that always are the worst of Enemies, Neighbours and Countrymen: For *Fabius* said well, he had rather fall upon the Enemy's Sword, than the Citizens Malice. This State-frenzy of Sedition, which ever proves fatal, was occasioned by the reviving of the *Agrarian* Law, by which, the Lands taken from their Enemies, and formerly divided among the Nobility, should be shared among the People of *Rome*; the Contentions about this Law kindled such a Hatred between the People and the Senate, that it never ended but with the Loss of the Liberty of *Rome*, and the Dissolution of that Republic.

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So vast a Destruction happening from the single Inconveniency of a reasonable Law, too violently urged, may caution wise Men to avoid the least Beginnings of Strife in a Government, since they often breed Contentions which the wisest Heads cannot compose: Every Division in a Government is like the breaking out of a Fire, when, and where 'twill end no body knows; and, as the *Gracchi*, they may fall first that think themselves farthest from Danger.

The various Progress of these Contentions between the Senate and the People about this Law, the great Barbarity used towards each other's Party, as often as they had Power, the miserable Slaughters and Massacres within the City, and the Effusion of Blood in the Camps, which never ceased till the Commonwealth expired, may be seen in their Histories. I shall only set down some few Particulars that occur from reflecting upon these civil Feuds of the *Romans*. 1. That a greater Plague cannot come upon a People than a Civil War; for Man has no worse Enemy than Man. *David* so well considered this when three Evils were proposed to him, as to intreat the Prophet that he might not fall into the Hands of Man. 2. That Authors of civil Disturbances generally have the Fate to fall by the Tumults they have raised. 3. That a Law may be just and reasonable, as this *Agrarian*, and yet not at all Times fit to be promoted. 'Tis plain by this also, how much Men esteem Wealth rather than Honours; for the Nobility of *Rome* ever gave way to the People, where it touch'd Matter of Honour without any extraordinary Distaste; but when their Wealth was concerned, how obstinately did they defend it, even to Madness?

And 'tis more plain there is not in Nature a Point of Stability to be found; every thing either ascends or declines: When Wars are ended abroad, Sedition begins at home, and when Men are freed from fighting for Necessity, they quarrel through Ambition.

It will be sufficient to fright any thinking People from promoting any public Disturbances, to consider the Miseries which beset all Ranks and Orders of People during these Diffensions.

Such a Deluge of Calamities are not to be found in any other Position of the human Nature.

The common People were butchered after a most inhuman Manner, eight Thousand being put to Death together in a large House in the *Campus Martius*; the Soldiers had Liberty to kill all they met; and throughout all the Cities of *Italy*, the Effusion of Blood was such, that neither Temple nor Sanctuary, nor private Houses escaped their Fury; so that *Sylla* was told, he ought to leave some People to reign over. Not to mention the miserable Slaughters upon the Entrance of *Cinna* and *Marius* into *Rome*; afterwards by *Sylla's* Party alone, being of the contrary Faction, were put to Death common People innumerable, two thousand six hundred Gentlemen, fifteen Consuls, and fourscore and ten Senators; and that bloody Day of *Romans* against *Remans*, on the Plains of *Pharsalia*, was the Effect of this Quarrel; for *Cæsar* was made Head of *Marius's* Party, and *Pompey* of *Sylla's*.

And though the Condition of the People of *Rome* and *Italy* was very deplorable under these civil Disturbances, yet that of the Commanders, and the Chief in Power, was in all Respects much worse, however they might Pride themselves in being satiated with Blood and Revenge; since 'tis better to be oppressed than to be an Oppressor, better to be unfortunate than wicked, better to die lamented than live to be cursed, and thought the Scourge and Pest of one's Country.

For at the several Entries of *Cinna* and *Marius*, and afterwards of *Sylla* into *Rome*, the Salutations of the People were their Curses and bitter Outcries; *in execrationem Cinna partiumque ejus*, as their Historians write, against *Cinna* and his Faction; and so odious were their Practices, that they said of *Marius*, the best of them,
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that he was *in otio civibus, infestissimus quietisque impatientissimus*, in Peace a bitter Enemy to his Countrymen, and of Quiet most impatient; and the same Author shews the Ground of turbulent Spirits, *Sediis, quibus & pessima & immodica cupiditas erat, non poterat pax placere*; that they whose greedy Desires were both extremely wicked and unbounded, could not away with Peace.

And certainly the Fruit that these Gentlemen reap'd from their Sedition, will never tempt any to follow their Example: For their Days were spent in continual Troubles, their Nights must be dismal, whilst Darkneſs and Silence presented to their Minds their cruel and horrid Acts in their proper Colours; their Characters were villainous, leaving behind them an everlasting Infamy; their Power but momentary, not lasting three Years in any; their Deaths violent and infamous. *Cinna* was slain by his own Soldiers; *Marius* indeed died within a month after made Consul, which prevented a worse End; *Sylla* was eaten up with Lice, an Impoſthume ſo corrupted his Fleſh that it turned all to that Vermin, notwithstanding he was continually ſhifted Night and Day.

But moſt dreadful is the Conſideration of the Weight of that Guilt which muſt always accompany their Spirits; for Souls do not inhabit the Duſt. Thoſe Scenes of Miſeries, and Follies that theſe Men have preſented to the World, are a ſufficient Proof what baſe Creatures Mankind are to themſelves and others, when Paſſions are predominant.

The common People of *England* have ſuffered the ſame Fate as other Nations, they have been drawn with Heat and Fury to ſhed one another's Blood for ſuch a Liberty as their Leaders never intended they ſhould have, and have fought many Battles to redreſs Grievances, which Victory, wherever it happened, always increaſed, endangering a good Government upon Pretences of making it better. Such Practices have

made Foreigners believe the *English* are naturally of a turbulent and disquiet Spirit ; as if those Epithets of *perfidy, inflati, feri, amentes, immanes*, which *Scaliger* bestows on us, were true.

But Foreigners have Reason to think our frequent Disturbances proceed from our Tempers, and not from any Defects in the Government ; since learned Writers abroad have declared, that of all Seigniories in the World, the Realm of *England* was the Country where the Commonwealth was best governed.

And Men well governed should seek after no other Liberty ; for there can be no greater Liberty than a good Government : The Truth is, the Easiness of the Government has made some so wanton as to kick against it ; our own Historians write, that most of our Kings have been unthankfully used.

The Barons Wars have been attributed, by good Historians, to the Stubbornness of the Nobility, though it carried the specious Pretence of confirming Liberties. By this War *Henry III.* was forc'd, for Want of Money, to renounce to the King of *France*, for the poor Consideration of three hundred thousand Pounds, his Right to *Normandy, Anjou, Tourain, Main, and Poictou*, which had cost the *English* much Blood and Money ; and by the Loss of those Havens and Ports on t'other Side, the Ocean our Wall, the natural and best Fence of our Island, is left naked and exposed.

It has been observed also, that since these Troubles from the Barons, the Kings of *England*, to lessen the Power of the Nobility, and balance them, have yielded to the growing Greatness and Privileges of the Commons, and what Effect that will have Time can only shew. Politicians do affirm, that Nobility preserves Liberty longer than the Commons, and, for Instance, say, *Solon's* popular State came far short of *Lycurgus's* by mix'd Government ; for the popular State of *Athens* soon fell, whilst the royal, mix'd Government of *Sparta* stood

stood a mighty Time ; by the Nobility *Sparta* and *Venice* enjoyed their Freedom longer than *Rome*.

The terribleness of Civil War and Diffensions will be sufficiently made out, by observing the Methods of Divine Providence ; for never was any Place so severely threatened with terrible Judgments and Desolations as *Jerusalem*, the capital City of the Holy Land, and the Seat of Religion for above eleven hundred Years ; and for a full Accomplishment of that Wrath and Vengeance which was pronounced against it, it pleased God to suffer a mighty Faction and Sedition to be raised within itself, as one certain Means of its Misery and Destruction.

'Tis plain whilst we are mix'd Bodies, we are continually passing from one Alteration to another, as well civilly as naturally : For Inconveniencies and Offences, as the Scripture declares, will come ; but withal adds a Woe unto them by whom they do come. 'Tis the Qualifications of our Contemporaries, of the Men that dwell at the same Time with us, must make us happy or miserable ; it must be their Wisdom, Justice, and Honour, which are not local, as the Law calls it, tied or annexed to a Place, but moving and transitory as Fortune itself. For there is the same Proportion of Good and Evil in the World as ever, though it shifts and changes, not always in the same Place, and never in the same Degree ; even the holy Worship of God, Religion, through the Wickedness of Men, has had its Marches. Nor is Man alone the Subject of Alteration and Vicissitude, but the Earth itself is sometimes dry Land, and sometimes overwhelmed with Waters, and a fruitful Land has been turned into Barrenness, for the Wickedness of them that dwell therein. All Sublunaries being in continual Motion, little Knowledge in History will convince us, that Persons, Families, Countries and Nations, have alternately fallen from great Wealth, Honour and Power, to Poverty and Contempt, and to the very Dregs of Slavery. We must

look a long Way back to find the *Romans* giving Laws to Nations, and their Consuls bringing Kings and Princes bound in Chains to *Rome* in Triumph; to see Men go to *Greece* for Wisdom, or *Ophir* for Gold, when now nothing remains but a poor Paper Remembrance of their former Condition.

It would be an unspeakable Advantage, both to the Public and Private, if Men would consider that great Truth, that no Man is wise or safe, but he that is honest. All I have designed is Peace to my Country, and may *England* enjoy that Blessing when I shall have no more Proportion in it than what my Ashes make.



A
 DISCOURSE
 OF THE
 INVENTION
 OF

Ships, Anchors, Compasses, &c.

The first Natural War, the several Uses, Defects, and Supplies of Shipping; the Strength and Defects of the Sea Forces of England, France, Spain, and Venice: Together with the five manifest Causes of the sudden appearing of the Hollanders.

THAT the Ark of *Noah* was the first Ship, because the Invention of God himself, although some Men have believed, yet it is certain, that the world being planted before the Flood, the same could not be performed without some transporting Vessels. It is true, and the Success proves it, that there was not any so capacious, nor so strong to defend itself against so violent and so continued a pouring down of Rain, as the Ark of *Noah*, the Invention of God himself; for of what Fashion or Fabric soever, the rest, with all Mankind, perished, according to the Ordinance of God. And probable it is, that the Anchors, whereof *Ovid* made mention, found on high Mountains, *Et inventa est in*

montibus Anchora summis, were remaining of Ships wreck'd at the general Flood.

After the Flood, it is said, that *Minos*, who lived two Descents before the War of *Troy*, sent out Ships to free the *Grecian* Seas of Pyrates ; which shews, that there had been either Trade, or War, upon the Waters before his Time also.

The Expedition of the *Argonauts* was after *Minos* * ; and so was the Plantation of *Tyrene* in *Africa*, by *Batus*, who was one of *Jason's* Companions ; and that the *Tyrians* had Trade by Sea before the War of *Troy*, *Homer* tells us.

Others give the first Dominion upon the Waters to *Neptune* †, who, for the great Exploits he did in the Service of *Saturn*, was, by after Ages, called the God of the Seas. But the *Corinthians* ascribe the Invention of rowing Vessels to a Citizen of their own called *Amenocles* ; and that the first naval War was made between the *Samiens* and *Corcyriens* ‡.

Ithicus's History, changed into *Latin* by *St. Hierome*, affirms, that *Griphon* the *Scythian*, was the Inventor of long Boats, or Gallies, in the northern Seas ; and *Strabo* gives the Invention of the Anchor with two Hooks, to the *Scythian Anacharsis*, but the *Greeks* to *Eupolemus*.

It is also said, that *Icarus* invented the Sail, and others other Pieces and Parts of the Ships and Boats, whereof the certain Knowledge is of no great Moment. This is certain, that the Sons and Nephews of *Noah*, who peopled the Isles of the Gentiles, and gave their own Names to many of them, had Vessels to transport themselves long before the Days of *Minos* ; and for my own Opinion, I do not think that any one Nation (the *Syrians* excepted, to whom the Knowledge of the Ark came, as the Story of the Creation did soon after *Moses*) did find out, at once, the Device either of Ship or Boat, in which they durst venture themselves upon

* *Pindar*. † *D. Sic. Lib. 6.* ‡ *Lib. Ger. 1. Cap. 1.*

the Seas: But being forced by Necessity to pass over Rivers or Lakes, they first bound together certain Reeds or Canes, by which they transported themselves. *Calamorum falces* (saith *D. Siculus*) *admodum ingentes inter se conjungunt*.

Others made Rafts of Wood, and other devised the Boat of one Tree called the *Canoa*, which the *Gauls* upon the River of *Roan* used in assisting the Transportation of *Hannibal's* Army, in his Enterprize of *Italy*. *Primum Galli inchoantes cavabant Arbores** (saith *Livy*) But *Polydor Virgil*† gives the Invention of those *Canoes* to the *Germans* inhabiting about the River of *Danubius*, which Kind of hollow Trees *Isidor* calls *Carabes*.

The *Britains*‡ had Boats made of Willow Twigs, and covered on the outside with Bullock Hydes, and so had the *Venetians*; of which *Lucan*, *primum cana salix*, &c. *Malefacto*, &c. And *Julius Solinus*, *Navigant autem Vimineis alveis quos circundant ambitione tergorum Bubalorum*. The same Kind of Boats had the *Germans*|| (saith *Isidor*) who in his Time committed many Robberies in them. But whosoever devised the *Canoo* among the *Danubians*, or among the *Gauls*, sure I am, that the *Indians* of *America* never had any Trade with either of these Nations; and yet from *Frobisher's* Streights, to the Streights of *Magellan*, those Boats are found, and in some Parts of that Length, as I have seen them rowed with twenty Oars of a Side.

The Truth is, that all Nations, how remote soever, being all reasonable Creatures, and enjoying one and the same Imagination and Fantasy, have devised, according to their Means and Materials, the same Things.

The Eastern People, who have had from all Antiquity the Use of Iron, have found out the Saw, and with the Saw they have sundered Trees in Boards and Planks, and have joined them together with Nails, and

* *Livy*, 1. Lib. Dec. † *Polidor* Lib. 3. ‡ Such Boats are now used for Sporting in the Fens. || *Isidor* Orig. 9. de Navig. Cap. 1.

so made Boats and Gallies safe and portable; so have they built Cities and Towns of Timber, and the like in all else.

On the contrary, the *West-Indies*, and many Nations of the *Africans*, wanting Means and Materials, have been taught by their own Necessities to pass Rivers in a Boat of one Tree, and to tie unsquared Poles together on the Top for their Houses, which they cover with large Leaves; yea, the same Boats, and the same Buildings, are found in Countries two thousand Miles distant, debared from all Commerce by unpassable Mountains, Lakes, and Deserts. Nature hath taught them all to choose Kings and Captains for their Leaders, and Judges. They all have lighted on the Invention of Bows and Arrows; all have Targets and wooden Swords; all have Instruments to encourage them to fight; all that have Corn beat it in Mortars and make Cakes, baking them upon Slate-stones; all devised Laws without any Grounds had from the Scriptures, or from *Aristotle's* Politick, whereby they are governed; all that dwell near Enemies impale their Villages to save themselves from surprise. Yea, besides the same Inventions, all have the same natural Impulsions; they follow Nature in the Choice of many Wives, and there are every where among them which, out of a kind of wolfish Ferocity, eat Man's Flesh; yea most of them believe in a second Life, and they are all of them Idolaters in one Kind or other.

For the northern Parts of the World, it was long ere they grew to any Perfection in Shipping; for we read that *Hengist* and *Horfa* came over into this Land in long Boats, in which for the first Time, being called in by the *Britains*, they transported five thousand Soldiers. And that after, they came with a Supply of ten thousand more, ship'd in thirty Vessels, which the *Saxons* call *Keels*, and our old Historians *Cogions*. And in *Cæsar's* Time, the *French Britains*, who were then esteemed the best Seamen, had very untoward Tubs, in
which

which they made War against him. For they took the Winds in Sails of Leather, heavy and unpliant; and they fasten their Ships to the Ground, and ride at Anchor with Cables of Iron Chains, having neither Canvass nor Cordage; insomuch as the best of them, which were *Vannes*, are described with high Heads raised up deformedly above the rest of the Buildings; to which Kind of Form that they were constrained, the Reason is manifest; for had their Cables of Iron Chains held any great Length, they had been unportable, and being short, the Ships must have sunk at an Anchor, in any Storm of Weather or Counter-tide. And such was their simplicity in those Days, as instead of accommodating their Furniture to their Ships, they formed their Ships to their Furniture; not unlike the Courtiers of this Age, who fit their Bodies and their Feet to their Doublets and Shoes, and not their Doublets and Shoes to their Bodies and Feet.

The *Pomerlanders* inhabiting the South Part of the *Baltick*, or Eastland Sea, used a Kind of Boat with the Prow at both Ends, so as they need not wend or hold Water, but went on and returned indifferently; of which *Tacitus* *, *Suionum hinc Civitates ipso in orceano præter viros armaque Classibus valent; forma navium, eo differt, quod utrinque proraparatam semper appulsui frontem agit: Nec velis ministrantur, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adjungunt. Solutum ut in quibusdam fluminum & mutabile ut res posset hinc vel illinc remigium.*

Next are the Cities of the *Suiones*, which are mighty at Sea, not only in Men and Arms, but in Fleets. The Form of their Vessels differs in this, that a Prow at each End enables them to row forward either Way alike; neither use they Sails, nor place their Oars in Order upon the Sides, but carrying the Oar loose, they shift it hither and thither at Pleasure, as is the Manner in some Rivers: Yea, at this Time, both the *Turks*

* *Tacitus de moribus German.*

and Christians use these Kind of Boats upon the River of *Danubius*, and call them *Nacerne*.

True it is, that before *Cæsar's* invading of this Land, we do find that the *Britains* had not any Shipping at all, other than their Boats of Twigs covered with Hydes as aforefaid.

The *Saxons*, when they were drawn in by the *Britains*, came hither by Sea ; and after that Time finding that without Shipping they could neither defend themselves, nor exercise any Trade, they began to make some Provision for a Navy, such as it was, which being first considered of by *Egbert* ; *Alfred*, *Edgar*, and *Etheldred*, augmented it : And how true it is I know not, but it is written of *Edgar*, that he increased the Fleet he found, to two thousand six hundred Sail : After whom *Etheldred* made a Law, that whosoever was Lord of three hundred and ten Hide of Land, should build and furnish one Ship for the Defence of their Countrey.

Notwithstanding all these Provisions, the *Danes* invaded them, and having better Ships than they had, made their Way for a new Conquest.

The *Normans* grew better Shipwrights than either of both, and made the last Conquest of this Land ; a Land which can never be conquered, whilst the Kings thereof keep the Dominion of the Seas, which Dominion I do not find that it was ever absolute, till the Time of *Henry* the VIIIth ; but that we fought sometimes with good, sometimes with ill Success, as we shall shew hereafter more particularly.

But omitting the Dispute of the first Navigators, certain it is, that the Invention of the Compass was had from our Northern Nations, were it from the *Germans*, *Norwegians*, *Britains*, or *Danes* ; for even to this Day, the old Northern Words are used for the Division of Winds upon the Quarter of the Compass, not only by the *Danes*, *Germans*, *Swedes*, *Britains*, and all in the Ocean, that understand the Terms and Names
of

of the Winds in their own Language : But the *French* and *Spanish* call the Sun-rising Winds, East, and the Sun-setting Winds West, the rest North and South ; and so, by the same Terms, in all the Divisions of South-east, North-east, South-west, North-west, and the rest.

And if we compare the marvellous great Transports of People by the *Saxons*, *Angles*, *Danes*, *Goths*, *Swedes*, *Norwegians* especially, and others ; and how many Fleets, for Supplies have been set out by them, with the Swarms of *Danes*, as well in our Seas, as when they invaded and conquered *Sicily*, together with the Colonies planted by the *Tyrians* in *Africa*, as elsewhere, and of the *Carthaginians*, the Sons of the *Tyrians* in *Spain* ; it is hard to judge which of these Nations have most commanded the Seas, though, for Priority, *Tibullus* and *Ovid* give it the *Tyrians*. *Prima ratam Ventis credere docta Tyros* *. And *Ovid*, *Magna minorque feræ quarum Regis altera Gratias ; altera Sydonias uterque sicca rates*.

And it is true, that the first good Ships were among the *Tyrians*, and they had good and great Ships not long after the War of *Troy* ; and in *Solomon's* Time they were of that Account, as *Solomon* invited *Hiram* King of *Tyre* to join with him in his Journey into the *East-Indies* ; for the *Israelites*, till then, never traded by Sea, and seldom if ever after it ; and that the *Tyrians* were the Chief in that Enterprize, it appears in that they were called *Nautas peritos maris*, in the *Hebrew* (saith *Junius*) *Homines navium* †, and in our *English*, *Mariners*.

It is also written in the Second of *Chronicles*, the Eighth, that *Hiram* sent *Solomon* Ships, *Et servos peritos maris*, and Servants skilful of the Sea, whereby it is probable, that the *Tyrians* had used the Trade of *East-India* before the Days of *Solomon*, or before the Reign of *David*, when themselves commanded the

* *Tibul. Eleg. Strab Lib. 16.* † *Junius. 1 King. Cap. 9.*

Ports of the Red-Sea. But the *Edumæans* being beaten by *David*, and the Port of *Ezion-Geber*, now subject to *Solomon*, the *Tyrians* were forced to make *Solomon* the Chief of that Expedition, and to join with him in the Enterprize ; for the *Tyrians* had no Pass to the *Red-Sea*, but through the Territory of *Solomon*, and by his Sufferance.

Whosoever were the Inventors, we find that every Age had added somewhat to Ships, and to all Things else. And in my own Time, the Shape of our *English* Ships hath been greatly bettered. It is not long since the striking of the Top-mast (a wonderful ease to great Ships, both at Sea and Harbour) hath been devised, together with the Chain pump, which takes up twice as much Water as the ordinary did ; we have lately added the Bonnet and the Drabler. To the Courses we have devised Studding-fails, Top-gallant-fails, Sprit-fails, Top-fails ; the weighing of Anchors by the Capstone is also new. We have fallen into Consideration of the Length of Cables, and by it we resist the Malice of the greatest Winds that can blow ; witness our small *Milbrook* Men of *Cornwal*, that rid it out at Anchor, half Seas over between *England* and *Ireland*, all the Winter Quarter ; and Witness the *Hollanders*, that were wont to ride before *Dunkirk* with the Wind at North-west, making a Lee-shore in all Weathers : For true it is, that the Length of the Cable is the Life of the Ship in all Extremities ; and the Reason is, because it makes so many Bendings and Waves, as the Ship riding at that Length is not able to stretch it, and nothing breaks that is not stretched. In Extremity, we carry our Ordnance better than we were wont, because our neither Overloops are raised commonly from the Water, to wit, between the lower Part of the Port and the Sea.

In King *Henry* the VIIIth's Time, and in his Presence, at *Portsmouth*, the *Mary Rose*, by a little Sway of the Ship in casting about, her Ports being within
 sixteen

sixteen Inches of the Water, was overfet and loft, and in her that worthy Knight Sir *George Carew*, Cousin German to the Lord *Carew*, and with him (besides many other Gentlemen) the Father of the late renowned Sir *Richard Greenvil*.

We have also raised our second Decks, and given more Vent thereby to our Ordnance, tying on our nether Overloop.

We have added cross Pillars in our Royal Ships to strengthen them, which being fastened from the Kelson to the Beams of the second Deck, keep them from settling, or from giving way in all Distresses.

We have given longer Floors to our Ships than in elder Times, and better bearing under Water, whereby they never fall into the Sea, alter the Head and shake the whole Body, nor sink astern, nor stoop upon a Wind, by which the breaking loose of our Ordnance, or the not Use of them, with many other Discommodities, are avoided.

And to say the Truth, a miserable Shame and Dishonour it were for our Shipwrights, if they did not exceed all other in the setting up of our Royal Ships, the Errors of other Nations being far more excusable than ours. For the Kings of *England* have for many Years been at the Charge to build and furnish a Navy of powerful Ships for their own Defence, and for the Wars only; whereas the *French*, the *Spaniards*, the *Portugals*, and the *Hollanders* (till of late) have had no proper Fleet belonging to their Princes or States. Only the *Venetians*, for a long Time, have maintained their Arsenal of Gallies, and the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* have had good Ships for these last fifty Years; I say, that the forenamed Kings, especially the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, have Ships of great Bulk, but fitter for the Merchant than for the Man of War, for Burden than for Battle. But as *Popelinire* well observeth, the Forces of Princes by Sea are *Marques de Grandeur d'Estat*, are Marks of the Greatness of an Estate:

Estate : For whosoever commands the Sea, commands the Trade ; whosoever commands the Trade of the World, commands the Riches of the World, and consequently the World itself. Yet can I not deny, but that the *Spaniards*, being afraid of their *Indian* Fleets, have built some few very good Ships, but he hath no Ships in Garrison as his Majesty hath, and, to say the Truth, no sure Place to keep them in ; but in all Invasions he is driven to take up of all Nations which comes into his Ports for Trade.

The *Venetians* while they attended their Fleets, and employed themselves in their Eastern Conquest, were great and powerful Princes, and commanded the Maritime Parts of *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, *Albania*, and *Epirus*, were Lords of *Peloponesus*, and the Islands adjoining, of *Cyprus*, *Candia*, and many other Places ; but after they sought to greaten themselves in *Italy* itself, using Strangers for the Commanders of their Armies, the *Turks*, by degrees, beat them out of all their goodly Countries, and have now confined them (* *Candia* excepted) to a few small *Grecian* Islands, which with great Difficulty they enjoy.

The first Honour they obtained, was by making War upon the *Istria* by Sea, and had they been true to their Spouse, to wit the Seas, which once a Year they marry, the *Turks* had never prevailed against them, nor ever been able to besiege any Place of theirs, to which he must have transported his Armies by his Gallies.

The *Genoese* were also exceeding powerful by Sea, and held many Places in the East, and contended often with the *Venetians* for Superiority, destroying each other in a long continued Sea War. Yea, the *Genoese* were the most famous Mercenaries of all *Europe*, both by Sea and Land for many Years.

The *French* assisted themselves by Land with the Cross-bowers of *Genoa* against the *English* ; namely,

* *Candia* is since lost.

at the Battle of *Cressy* the *French* had 12000 Cross-bowers, *Genoese*. By Sea, with their great Ships called the Carracks of *Genoa*, they always strengthened their Fleets against the *Englisch*; but after *Mahomet* the Second had taken *Constantinople*, they lost *Caffa*, and all *Taurica*, *Chersonesus*, with the whole Trade of the *Euxine* Sea; and although they sent many Supplies by the *Hellespont*, yet having often felt the Smart of the *Turks* Cannon, they began to slack their Succours, and were soon after supplanted. Yet do the *Venetians*, to this Day, well maintain their Estate by their Sea Forces, and a great Loss it is to the Christian Common-weal in general, that they are less than they were; and a precipitate Counsel it was of those Christian Kings their Neighbours, when they joined in League against them, seeing they then were, and they yet are, the strongest Rampiers of *Europe* against the *Turks*.

But the *Genoese* have now but a few Gallies, being altogether degenerate, and become Merchants of Money, and the *Spanish* King's Bankers. But all the States and Kingdoms of the World have changed Form and Policy.

The Empire itself, which gave Light to Principalities, like a *Pharos* or high Tower to Seamen, is now sunk down to the Level of the Soil. The Greatness which it gave to the Church of *Rome*, as before proved, was it which made itself little in haste; and therefore truly said, *Imperium amore Religionis seipsum exhausisse*. The Empire being also Elective, and not Successive, the Emperors in being made Profit of their own Times, and sold from the Empire many Signories depending on it, and at so easy a Rate, as *Lucca* freed itself for ten thousand Crowns, and *Florence* for six thousand Crowns; the rest the Popes, then the *Hanses*, and lastly the *Turks* have in Effect ruined. And in which several Inundations, many Pieces have been recovered by other Princes and States; as *Basil*, *Zuric* and *Berne*, by the *Switzers*, (omitting many others) *Metz*, *Tboulouse*, *Verdum*, by the *French*; *Groign*, *Aix-la-Chapelle*, *Zutphen*, *Deventer*,

ter, *Newegen* in *Guelderland*, *Wesel*, *Antwerp*, and many other Places by the *Spaniards*, and by the States ; *Dantzic*, and other Towns of Importance, by the *Poles* : Infomuch as it is now become the most confused Estate of the World, consisting of an Emperor in Title without Territory, who can ordain nothing of Importance, but by a Dyet or Assembly of the Estates of many free Princes, Ecclesiastical and Temporal ; in Effect, of equal Force, divers in Religion and Faction, and of free Cities and Hans-towns, whom the Princes do not more desire to command, than they scorn to obey. Notwithstanding, being by far less than they were in Number, and less in Force and Reputation, as they are not greatly able to offend others, so have they enough to do (being seated far asunder) to defend themselves ; of whom hereafter more particularly.

The *Castilians*, in the mean while, are grown great, and by mistaking esteemed the greatest, having by Marriage, Conquest, Practice *, and Purchase, devoured all Kingdoms within *Spain*, with *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milan*, and the *Netherlands*, and many Places belonging to the Empire and the Princes thereof ; besides the *Indies* East and West, the Islands of the West Ocean, and many Places in *Barbary*, *Guinea*, *Congo*, and elsewhere.

France hath also enlarged itself by the one half, and reduced *Normandy*, *Britain*, and *Aquitain*, with all that the *English* had on that Side the Sea, together with *Languedoc*, *Foix*, *Armignac*, *Berne*, and *Dauphiny*.

For this Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, it hath had by his Majesty a strong Addition, the Postern by which we were so often heretofore entered and surprised is now made up, and we shall not hereafter need the double Face of *Janus* to look North and South at once.

But there is no State grown in haste, but that of the United Provinces, and especially in their Sea-forces,

* Practice was in this Age used for Treachery.

and by a contrary Way to that of *France* or *Spain*, the latter by Invasion, the former by Oppression; for I myself may remember when one Ship of her Majesty's would have made forty *Hollanders* strike Sail, and to come to Anchor. They did not then dispute *De mari libero*, but readily acknowledged the *English* to be *Domini maris Britannici*. That we are less powerful than we were, I do hardly believe it; for although we have not at this Time one hundred and thirty-five Ships belonging to the Subjects, of five hundred Tons each Ship, as it is said we had in the twenty-fourth Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, at which Time also, upon a general View and Muster, there were found in *England*, of all Men fit to bear Arms, eleven Hundred and seventy-two Thousand, yet are our Merchants Ships now far more warlike and better appointed than they were, and the Navy Royal double as strong as then it was; for these were the Ships of her Majesty's Navy at that Time.

1. The <i>Triumph</i> .	To which there hath been added.
2. The <i>Eliz. Jonas</i> .	
3. The <i>White Bear</i> .	14. The <i>Antelope</i> .
4. The <i>Philip and Mary</i> .	15. The <i>Forefight</i> .
5. The <i>Bonaventure</i> .	16. The <i>Swallow</i> .
6. The <i>Golden Lion</i> .	17. The <i>Handmaid</i> .
7. The <i>Victory</i> .	18. The <i>Gennet</i> .
8. The <i>Revenge</i> .	19. The <i>Bark of Bullen</i> .
9. The <i>Hope</i> .	20. The <i>Aid</i> .
10. The <i>Mary Rose</i> .	21. The <i>Achates</i> .
11. The <i>Dreadnaught</i> .	22. The <i>Falcon</i> .
12. The <i>Minion</i> .	23. The <i>Tyger</i> .
13. The <i>Swiftsure</i> .	24. The <i>Bull</i> .

We have not, therefore, less Force than we had, the Fashion and Furnishing of our Ships considered: For there are in *England*, at this Time, four hundred Sail of Merchants fit for the Wars, which the *Spaniards*

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would

would call *Gallions* ; to which we may add two hundred Sail of *Crumsters*, or Hoys of *Newcastle*, which each of them will bear six Demi-culverins, and four Sakers, needing no other Addition of Building, than a slight spar Deck fore and aft, as the Seamen call it, which is a slight Deck throughout. These two hundred, which may be chosen out of four hundred, by reason of their ready staying and turning, by reason of their windwardness, and by reason of their drawing of little Water ; and they are of extreme Vantage near the Shore, and in all Bays and Rivers to turn in and out ; these, I say, alone, well manned, and well conducted, would trouble the greatest Prince of *Europe* to encounter in our Seas ; for they stay and turn so readily, as, ordering them into small Squadrons, three of them at once may give their Broadfides upon any one great Ship, or upon any Angle or Side of an Enemy's Fleet ; they shall be able to continue a perpetual Volley of Demi-culverins without Intermiſſion, and either sink or slaughter the Men, or utterly disorder any Fleet of cross Sails with which they encounter.

I say then, if a Vanguard be ordained of these Hoys, who will easily recover the Wind of any other Ships, with a Battle of four hundred other warlike Ships, and a Rear of thirty of his Majesty's Ships to sustain, relieve, and countenance the rest (if God beat them not) I know not what Strength can be gathered in all *Europe* to beat them. And if it be objected, that the States can furnish a far greater Number, I answer, that his Majesty's forty Ships, added to six hundred before named, are of incomparably greater Force than all that *Holland* and *Zealand* can furnish for the Wars. As also that a greater Number would breed the same Confusion that was found in *Xerxes'* Land Army of seventeen hundred thousand Soldiers ; for there is a certain Proportion both by Sea and Land, beyond which, the Excess brings nothing but Disorders and Amazement.

Of those Hoys, Carvils, or Crumflers, call them what you will, there was a notable Experience made in the Year 1574, in the River of *Antwerp*, near *Rummerswael*, where the Admiral *Boyset*, with his Crumflers, overthrew the *Spanish* Fleet of great Ships conducted by *Julian Romero*; so contrary to the Expectation of *Don Lewis*, the great Commander and Lieutenant of the *Netherlands* for the King of *Spain*, as he came to the Banks of *Bergen* to behold the Slaughter of the *Zealanders*; but, contrary to his Expectation, he beheld his *Armado*, some of them sunk, some of them thrust on the Shore, and most of the rest mastered and possessed by his Enemies: Insomuch as his great Captain *Romero*, with great Difficulty, some say in a Skiff, some say by Swimming, saved himself.

The like Success had Captain *Werst* of *Zealand*, against the Fleet which transported the Duke of *Medini Cæli*, who was sent out of *Spain* by Sea, to govern the *Netherlands*, in Place of the Duke of *Ava*; for with twelve Crumflers or Hoys, of the first Troop of twenty-one Sail he took all but three, and he forced the second (being twelve great Ships filled with two thousand Soldiers) to run under the *Ramkins*, being then in the *Spaniards* Possession.

But whence comes this Dispute? Not from the Increase of Numbers, not because our Neighbours breed more Mariners than we do, nor from the Greatness of their Trade in all Parts of the World; for the *French* creep into all Corners of *America*, and *Africa*, as they do, and the *Spaniards*, and *Portugals*, employ more Ships by many (fishing Trades excepted) than the *Netherlands* do: But it comes from the detestable Covetousness of such particular Persons as have gotten Licences, and given way to the transporting of the *English* Ordnance. *Fuit hæc Sapientia quondam, publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis.* And that in so great Abundance, as that not only our good Friends the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* have furnished themselves, and have them lying

on their Wharfs to sell to others; but all other Nations have had from us, not only to furnish their Fleets, but to garnish all their Forts and other Places, fortifying their Coasts; without which the *Spanish* King durst not have dismounted so many Pieces of Brass in *Naples* and elsewhere, therewith to arm his great Fleet in 88. But it was directly proved in the lower House of Parliament, *Anno* of Queen *Elizabeth*, that there were landed in *Naples* above one hundred and forty Culverins *English*, since which Time also, and not long since, it is lamentable that so many have been transported into *Spain*. But those that be like then determined it, and the Transporters, have now forsaken the Country; and though the Procurers remain, I am resolved that they also have forsaken the Care of his Majesty's Estate, and the Honour of this Nation. I urge not this Point as thinking it unfit to furnish his Majesties good Friends and Allies, who have had with us one common Enemy for many Years; but all politick Estates have well observed this Ptecept, *Ut sit tractarent amicum, tanquam inimicum futurum*: For what are all the Ships in the World to be valued at, other then a Company of floating Tubs, were they not furnished with Ordnance, either to offend others, or defend themselves? If a Ship of a thousand Tons had in her a thousand Musketeers, and never a great Gun, with one Crumster, carrying ten or thirteen Culverins, she may be beaten to Pieces, and her Men slaughtered. Certainly the Advantage which the *English* had by their Bows and Arrows in former Times, was never so great as we might now have had by our Iron Ordnance, if we had either kept it within the Land, kept it from our Enemies, or imparted it to our Friends moderately; for as by the former we obtained many notable Victories, and made ourselves Masters of many Parts of *France*, so by the latter we might have commanded the Seas, and thereby the Trade of the World itself. But we have now, to our future Prejudice, and how far

far to our Prejudice I know not, forged Hammers, and delivered them out of our Hands, to break our own Bones withal.

For the Conclusion of this Dispute, there are five manifest Causes of the Upgrowing of the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*.

1. The first is, the Favour and Assistance of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the King's Majesty, which the late worthy and famous Prince of *Orange* did always acknowledge : And in the Year 1582. when I took my Leave of him at *Antwerp*, after the Return of the Earl of *Leicester* into *England*, and Monsieur's Arrival there, when he delivered me his Letters to her Majesty, he prayed me to say to the Queen from him, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegimur* ; for certainly they had withered in the Bud, and sunk in the Beginning of their Navigation, had not her Majesty assisted them.

2. The second Cause was, the employing of their own People in their Trades and Fishings, and the entertaining of Strangers to serve them in their Armies by Land.

3. The third is, the Fidelity of the House of *Nassau*, and their Services done them, especially of that renowned Prince *Maurice*, now living.

4. The fourth, the withdrawing of the Duke of *Parma* twice into *France*, while in his Absence he recovered those strong Places of *Zeland* and *Frizeland*, as *Deventer*, *Zutphen*, &c.

5. And the fifth, the imbarging and confiscating of their Ships in *Spain*, which constrained them, and gave them Courage to trade by Force into the *East* and *West-Indies*, and in *Africa*, in which they employ one hundred and eighty Ships, and eight thousand 700 Mariners. The Success of a Counsel so contrary to their Wisdom that gave it, as all the Wit, and all the Force the *Spaniards* have, will hardly (if ever) recover the Damage thereby received.

For to repair that Ruin of the *Hollanders* Trade into both *Indies*, the *Spaniards* did not only labour the Truce; but the King was content to quit the Sovereignty of the *United Provinces*, and to acknowledge them for free States, neither holding nor depending on the Crown of *Spain*. But be their Estates what it will, let not them deceive themselves in believing that they can make themselves masters of the Sea; for certainly the Shipping of *England*, with the great Squadron of his Majesty's Navy Royal, are able, in Despight of any Prince or State in *Europe*, to command the great and large Field of the Ocean. But as I shall never think him a Lover of this Land, or of the King, that shall persuade his Majesty from embracing the Amity of the States of the *United Provinces*, (for his Majesty is no less safe by them, than they invincible by him) so I would wish them, (because after my Duty to mine own Sovereign, and the Love of my Country, I honour them most) that they remember and consider it, seeing that their Passage and Repassage lies thro' the *British* Seas; that there is no Port in *France*, from *Calais* to *Flushing*, that can receive their Ships; that many Times outward by westerly Winds, and ordinarily homewards, not only from the *East-Indies*, but from the Streights, and from *Spain*, all southerly Winds (the Breezes of our Climate) thrust them of Necessity into the King's Ports; how much his Majesty's Favour doth concern them. For if (as themselves confess in their last Treaty of Truce with the *Spaniards*) they subsist by their Trades, the Disturbance of their Trades (which *England* can only disturb) will also disturb their Subsistence. The rest I will omit, because I can never doubt either their Gracitudes or their Wisdoms. For our *Newcastle* Trade (from which I have digressed) I refer the Reader to the Author of the Trade's Increase, a Gentleman to me unknown; but so far as I can judge, he hath many Things very considerable in that short Treatise of his; yea both


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considerable and praise-worthy ; and among the rest, the Advice which he hath given for the Maintenance of our Hoys and Carvils of *Newcastle*, which may serve us, besides the Breeding of Mariners, for good Ships of War, and of exceeding Advantage. And certainly I cannot but admire why the Impositions of five Shillings should any way dishearten them, seeing there is but one Company in *England*, upon whose Trade any new Payments are laid, but that they on whom it is laid raise Profit by it. The Silkmen, if they pay his Majesty Twelve-pence upon a Yard of Satten, they not only raise that Twelve-pence, but they impose Twelve-pence or two Shillings more upon the Subject ; so do they upon all they sell of what Kind soever, as all other Retailers do, of what Quality or Profession soever : And seeing all the Maritime Provinces of *France* and *Flanders*, all *Holland* and *Zealand*, *Embsden* and *Bremen*, &c. cannot want our *Newcastle*, or our *Welsh* Coals, the Imposition cannot impoverish the Transporter, but that the Buyer must make Payment accordingly : And if the Impositions laid on these Things, whereof this Kingdom hath no necessary Use, as upon Silks, Velvets, Gold and Silver Lace, and Cloaths of Gold and Silver, Cut-works, Cambricks, and a World of other Trumperies, doth in nothing hinder their Vent here, but that they are more used than ever they were, to the utter impoverishing of the Land in general, and of those Poppinjays that value themselves by their Outsides, and by their Players Coats ; certainly the imposing upon Coals, which other Nations cannot want, can be no Hindrance at all to the *Newcastlemen*, but that they may raise it again upon the *French* and other Nations, as those Nations themselves do, which fetch them from us with their own Shipping.

For Conclusion of this Chapter, I say, that it is exceeding lamentable, that for any Respect in the World, seeing the Preservation of the State and Monarchy doth surmount

surmount all other Respects, that Strangers should be permitted to eat us out, by exporting and importing both our own Commodities, and those of foreign Nations : For it is no Wonder we are overtop'd in all the Trades we have abroad, and far off, seeing we have the Grass cut from under our Feet in our Fields and Pastures.





OBSERVATIONS

Concerning the

Royal Navy and Sea-Service.

Dedicated to the most Noble and Illustrious Prince
HENRY, Prince of WALES.

HA VING formerly (most excellent Prince) discoursed of a maritimal Voyage, and the Passages and Incidents therein, I think it not impertinent, nor differing from my Purpose, to second the same with some necessary Relations concerning the Royal Navy, with the Services and Offices thereto belonging: For as the Perfection and Excellency of our Shipping is great and remarkable, so the Imperfections and Defects of the same, by Use and Experience of late Years, have been found to be divers and inconvenient; as it falls out many Times in the Circumstances of Land-service by the Change of Arms, Diversities of Fortifications, and Alteration of Discipline. And therefore for the due Reformation, many Things are necessarily and particularly to be spoken and considered of in their Order. In Regard whereof, I will first begin with the Officers, and therein crave Pardon (if in speaking plainly and truly in a Matter of so great Importance) I do set aside all private Respects and Partiality; for in that which concerns the Service and Benefit of my Prince and Country, I will say with *Cicero*, *Nil mihi melius, nil mihi charius*; and therefore not justly to be taxed with any Presumption for meddling with Matters wherein I have

no

no Dealings nor Charge. For that in the Affairs of this Nature, every good Subject is deeply interested, and bound in Conscience and Duty both to say and do his best.

Of the Officers of the Navy.

First therefore it were to be wished, that the chief Officers under the Lord Admiral (as Vice-Admiral, Treasurer, Comptroler, Surveyor, and the rest) should be Men of the best Experience in Sea-service, as well as of Judgment and Practice in the Utenfils and Necessaries belonging to Shipping, even from the Batt's End, to the very Kelson of a Ship. And that no Kind of People should be preferred to any of these Offices, but such as have been thoroughly practised, and be very judicial in either Kind of the above-named Services; but we see it oftentimes to fall out otherwise: For, sometimes, by the special Favour of Princes (and many times by the Mediation of great Men for the Preferment of their Servants) and now and then by Virtue of the Purse, and such like Means, some People, very raw and ignorant, are very unworthily and unfitly nominated to those Places, when Men of Desert and Ability are held back and unpreferred, to the great Hindrance of his Majesty's Service, to the Prejudice of the Navy, and to the no little Discouragement of ancient and noble able Servitors, when Favour or Partiality shall thus eat out Knowledge and Sufficiency, in Matters so nearly concerning the Service and Safety of the Kingdom, wherein all private Respects should be laid apart, and Virtue truly regarded for itself.

Of the Building of Ships.

Secondly, it were no less behoveful, for his Majesty's Service, and for the Strength of the Navy, that no Ships should be built by the Great, (as divers of them

them have been ;) for by daily Experience they are found to be the most weak, imperfect, and unserviceable Ships of all the rest. And it is not otherwise to be presumed, but as the Officers would be thought to be very frugal for his Majesty in driving a Bargain by the Great at a near Rate with the Shipwright, so likewise the Shipwright, on his Part, will be as careful to gain by his Labour, or at least to save himself harmless, and therefore suit his Work slightly, according to a slight Price ; out of the which present Sparing and untimely Thrift, there grows many future Inconveniencies, and continual Charge in repairing and re-edifying such imperfect slight-built Vessels. The Proof and Experience whereof hath been often found in new Ships built at those Rates, but so weakly, as that in their Voyages they have been ready to founder in the Seas with every extraordinary Storm, and at their Return been enforced to be new built. But seeing the Officers of the Admiralty do hold (by the Grace of his Majesty) Places of so good Credit and Benefit, it is their Parts therefore (being well waged and rewarded for the same) exactly to look into the sound building of Ships, and to employ their Care and Travail, as well in the Oversight thereof, as to provide that all Things else belonging to the Navy be good and well conditioned : For the strong and true Building of a Ship is not to be left barely to the Fidelity of a merchantical Artificer (the chief End of whose Work, in his own Accompt, is his Profit and Gain) but some superior Officer ought to have a further Regard in that Business, if he be such a one as hath more Judgment in the building and conditioning of a Ship, than Devotion to his own Ease and Profit.

Moreover, if any decayed Ship be intended to be new made, it is more fit and profitable to make her a Size less then she was, than bigger ; for then her Beams which were laid over-thwart from Side to Side will serve again, and most of her Timbers and other Parts will

will serve well to the building of a new Ship : But if she should be made a Size bigger, the Timber of the old will be unprofitable for that Purpose. We find by Experience, that the greatest Ships are least serviceable, go very deep to Water, and of marvellous Charge and fearful Cumber, our Channels decaying every Year. Besides, they are less nimble, less mainable, and very seldom employed. *Grande Navio, grande fatica*, saith the *Spaniard*, A Ship of six hundred Tons will carry as good Ordnance as a ship of twelve hundred Tons ; and though the greater have double her Number, the lesser will turn her Broadfides twice, before the greater can wind once, and so no Advantage in that Overplus of Ordnance. And in the building of all Ships, these six Things are principally required.

1. First, that she be strong built.
2. Secondly, that she be swift.
3. Thirdly, that she be stout sided.
4. Fourthly, that she carry out her Guns all Weather.

5. Fifthly, that she hull and try well, which we call a good Sea-ship.

6. Sixthly, that she stay well, when boarding and turning on a Wind is required.

1. To make her strong, consisteth in the Truth of the Workman, and the Care of the Officers.

2. To make her sail well is to give a long Run forward, and so afterward done by Art and just Proportion, as in laying out of her Bows before, and Quarters behind, she neither sink into nor hang in the Water, but lie clear off and above it. And that the Shipwrights be not deceived herein (as for the most Part they have ever been) they must be sure that the Ship sink no deeper into the Water than they promise, for otherwise the Bow and Quarter will utterly spoil her sailing.

3. That she be stout, the same is provided and performed by a long bearing Floor, and by sharing off
above

above Water, even from the lower Edge of the Ports.

4. To carry out her Ordnance all Weather, this long bearing Floor, and sharing off from above the Ports, is a chief Cause; provided always that your lowest Tire of Ordnance must lie four Foot clear above Water when all Loading is in, or else those your best Pieces will be of small Use at Sea in any grown Weather that makes the Billows to rise; for then you shall be enforced to take in all your lower Ports, or else hazard the Ship. As befel to the *Mary Rose* (a goodly Vessel) which in the Days of King *Henry VIII.* being before the Isle of *Wight* with the rest of the Royal Navy (to encounter the *French Fleet*) with a sudden Puff of Wind stooped her Side, and took in Water at her Ports in such abundance, as that she instantly sunk downright, and many gallant Men in her. The Captain of her was Sir *George Carew* Knight, who also perished among the rest.

5. To make her a good Sea Ship, that is to hull and try well, there are two Things specially to be observed; the one, that she have a good Draught of Water, the other that she be not overcharged, which commonly the King's Ships are, and therefore in them we are forced to lie at try with our main Course and Mizen, which with a deep Keel and standing Streak she will perform.

6. The Hindrance to stay well is the extreme length of a Ship, especially if she be floaty, and want Sharpness of Way forward; and it is most true, that those over long Ships are fitter for our Seas than for the Ocean, but one hundred Foot long, and five and thirty Foot broad, is a good Proportion for a great Ship.

It is a special Observation, that all Ships sharp before, that want a long Floor, will fall roughly into the Sea, and take in Water over Head and Ears.

So will all narrow quartered Ships sink after the Tail. The high charging of Ships it is that brings them all ill

Qualities, makes them extreme Leeward, makes them sink deep into the Water, makes them labour, and makes them overfet.

Men may not expect the Ease of many Cabbins, and Safety at once in Sea-service. Two Decks and a Half is fufficient to yield Shelter and Lodging for Men and Mariners, and no more Charging at all higher, but only one low Cabbin for the Master. But our Mariners will fay, that a Ship will bear more charging aloft for Cabbins ; and that is true, if none but ordinary Mariners were to ferve in them, who are able to endure, and are used to the tumbling and rowling of Ships from Side to Side when the Sea is never fo little grown ; but Men of better Sort and better Breeding would be glad to find more steadinefs, and lefs tottering Cadg-work. And albeit the Mariners do covet Store of Cabbins, yet indeed they are but fluttish Dens that breed Sicknefs in Peace, ferving to cover Stealths, and in Fight are dangerous to tear Men with their Splinters.

Of Harbouring and Placing the Navy.

There are alfo many and great Reafons why all his Majesty's Navy fhould not in fuch Sort be pen'd up as they are in *Rocheſter* Water, but only in Reſpect of the Ease and Commodity of the Officers, which is encountered with fundry Inconveniencies for the Sea-service, the Difficulty being very great to bring them in or out at Times of Need through fo many Flats and Sands, if Wind and Weather be not very favourable. Befides, they muſt have fundry Winds to bring them to the Land's End, and to put them to the Seas, which oftentimes fails, and cauſeth Delay when Haſte is moſt needful. For if any Service be to be done upon the South Parts of *England*, as the *Wight*, *Portſmouth*, the Iſlands of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, or Weſtward towards *Devonſhire* or *Cornwal*, or towards *Wales* or *Ireland*, it is fo long ere his Majesty's Shipping can be brought
about

about to recover any of these Places, as much Mischief may be done the while: For the same Winds that bring in the Enemy, binds in our Shipping in such Sort, as that oftentimes in a Month's Space they are not able to recover the nearest of any of these above-named Coasts. But how perilous a Course it is, is easily discerned, and as easily remedied, seeing there are besides so many safe and good Harbours to disperse and bestow some of the Navy in, where they may ever lie fit for all Services; as *Portsmouth*, *Dartmouth*, *Plymouth*, *Falmouth*, *Milford*, and divers others, all of them being Harbours very capable and convenient for Shipping. But perhaps it will be alledged, that they cannot ride in any of these so safe from Enemies as in *Rocheſter* Water, because it reacheth far within the Land, and is under the Protection of some Block-houses. To which I answer thus, that with very easy Care and Provision, they may in most of these Places ride sufficiently secure from any foreign Practices. And I do not mean that all the whole Navy should be subdivided into all these Ports, but that some half Dozen, or eight of the middling Ships, and some Pinnaces should lie in the West; and yet not in any Port so near the Sea, as that in a dark Night they may be endangered by Enemies with Fire or otherwise, but in some such Places as *Ashwater* is by *Plymouth*, where an Enemy must run up a fresh River a dozen Miles after he hath passed the Forts of the Island, and the Alarm given before he can come where they lie at Anchor. In which River the greatest Carack of *Portugal* may ride afloat ten Miles within the Forts. But if Regard be only had of their safe keeping, and not also of their readiness and fitness for Service, then let them never be sent abroad to be hazarded against the Enemy's Forces; for therein they shall be more subject to Casualty and Danger, than by lying in any of those Harbours above specified. But certain it is, that these Ships are purposely to serve his Majesty, and to defend the King-

dom from Danger, and not to be so pen'd up from Casualty, as that they should be the less able or serviceable in Times of Need ; and therefore that Objection favours not of good Reason, but rather of Self-respect in the Officers, who are all, for the most Part, well seated near about *Rocheſter*. But the Service of his Majesty, and the Safety of the Realm (in my poor Opinion) ought to prevail beyond all other Respects whatsoever ; and to him that casts those needless Doubts, it may well be said, *pereat qui timet umbras*.

Of the needful Expence in manning the Navy, and other Inconveniencies, by placing all the Fleet in Rocheſter Water.

In the Service of the Shipping lying for any of these Places above-named, or for *Spain*, or for the Islands, they are enforced of very Necessity to press the best and greatest Part of their Men out of the West Countries, which is no small Charge in bringing them so far as between that and *Rocheſter* ; and then when they are embarked at *Rocheſter*, their Charge is again redoubled in their Pay and Expence of Victuals before the Ships can recover so far as *Plymouth*, which many Times is long a doing ; for they do ever usually touch at *Plymouth* in all southern Voyages, for the furnishing many Sea Necessaries which that Country doth afford. And therefore, for so many Ships as should be there resident, the Charges of Conduct-Money for Mariners, of Wages and of Victuals, would be well saved for all that Time which is spent betwixt *Rocheſter* and *Plymouth*. Besides, it were to be presumed, that Enemies would not be so troublesome to the Western Coasts, nor that Country itself would be so often dismayed with Alarms as they have of late Years been, if some of his Majesty's good Ships were resident in those Parts. If therefore (in his Majesty's Wisdom) it should appear fit to bestow some of his Shipping in any of these Harbours

bours afore-named, it shall be very needful likewise that there be a Magazine of all manner of necessary Provisions and Munitions in the same Places, according to the Proportion of the Shipping that there shall be resident, whereby such Defects as by Accident may fall out, shall, upon any Occasion, be readily supply'd, without Delays or Hindrance of Service. And that withal, in the same Places, some Officers belonging to the Admiralty be there always attendant, otherwise it would be found very inconvenient to be enforced ever to attend such Helps and Supplies as must come so far off as *London*, when it may more easily, and with less Charge, be effected in Places where they ride.

Of great Ordnance.

It were also very behoveful, that his Majesty's Ships were not so over-pestered and clogged with great Ordnance as they are, whereof there is such Superfluity, as that much of it serves to no better Use but only to labour and overcharge the Ship's Sides in any grown Seas and foul Weather. Besides, many of the Ships that are allowed but twenty Gunners have forty Piece of Brass Pieces, whereas every Piece at least requires four Gunners to attend it, and so that Proportion of Ordnance to so few Gunners is very preposterous; for when a Ship heels or rows in foul Weather, the breaking loose of Ordnance is a Thing very dangerous, which the Gunners can hardly prevent, or well look into, they being so few, the Guns so many; withal we do see, that twenty or thirty good Brass Pieces, as Cannon, Demi-cannon, Culverin, and Demi-culverin, is a Royal Battery for a Prince to bring before any Town or strong Fortress. And why should not we as well think the same to be a very large Proportion for one Ship to batter another withal? Which if it be, then may his Majesty rateably save a great Part of the Ordnance throughout every Ship, and make the Navy the more sufficient

and serviceable, and thereby also save a great deal of needless Expence in superfluous Powder and Shot, that is now pretended to be delivered out according to this huge and excessive Proportion of Artillery ; whereof if many had not been stricken down into *Holt* in many Voyages (and especially in this last Journey to the Islands) divers of the Ships, Weight, Heaft, and Charge thereof, would have foundered in the Sea ; wherein I report me to such as have served in them, and saw the Proof thereof. For this Journey to the Islands did, most of all others, discover unto us these Experiences and Trials in the Royal Navy ; for that it was the longest Navigation that ever was made out of our Realm, with so many of the Prince's Ships, and tarrying out so late in the Year, whereby both the Winds and Seas had Power and Time thoroughly to search and examine them. Besides, many Times there is no Proportion of Shot and Powder allowed rateably, by that Quantity of the great Ordnance, as was seen in the Sea Battle with the *Spaniards* in the Year 88. when it so nearly concerned the Defence and Preservation of the Kingdom. So as then many of those great Guns wanting Powder and Shot, stood but as Cyphers and Scarecrows, not unlike to the Easterling Hulks, who were wont to plant great red Portholes in their broad Sides, where they carried no Ordnance at all.

Of Caulking and Sheathing his Majesty's Ships.

There is a great Error committed in the Manner of Caulking his Majesty's Ships, which being done with rotten Okum is the Cause they are leaky ; and the Reason is this, for that they make their Okum, wherewith they caulk the Seams of the Ships, of old seer and weather-beaten Ropes, when they are overspent and grown so rotten, as they serve for no other use but to make rotten Okum, which moulders and washes away with every Sea, as the Ships labour and are tossed ;

whereas,

whereas, indeed, of all other Things, the most special and best Choice should be made of that Stuff, to have it both new and good; for that Sparing, to employ old rotten Ropes, is a great Defect, either in building of new Ships, or repairing of old, and is the Cause why after every Journey they must be new caulked. And therefore it were much to be wished (as a Thing fit for his Majesty's Service, profitable for the Navy, and happy for those that shall serve in them) that the whole Navy throughout were all sheathed, as some of them are. The Benefit and Good whereof for Sea-service is manifold, and no less frugal for his Majesty, in making his Ships as strong and lasting thereby, as they are otherwise good of Sail: And then shall they never need (scarcely once in ten Years) this new caulking and repairing, which now almost every Year they have. And hereof let the Censure be taken of the best Seamen of *England*, and they will not vary from this Opinion.

Of Victualling.

As his Majesty's due Allowance for victualling of Ships is very large and honourable, and would be greatly to the Encouragement and Strengthening of the Mariners and Soldiers that serve in them, if it were faithfully distributed, the Sea-service indeed being very miserable and painful; so again, as it is abused and purloined, it is very scant and dishonourable, to the great Slander of the Navy, to the Discouragement of all them that are press'd thereunto, and to the Hinderance of his Majesty's Service. For that many Times they go with a great Grudging to serve in his Majesty's Ships, as if it were to be Slaves in the Gallies, so much do they stand in Fear of Penury and Hunger; the Case being clean contrary in all Merchants Ships, and therefore the Purveyors and Victuallers are much to be condemned, as not a little faulty in that Behalf, who make no little Profit of those Pelings, which is Cause very

lamentable, that such as sit in Ease at home, should so raise a Benefit out of their Hunger and Thirst that serve their Prince and Country painfully abroad, whereof there hath a long Time been great complaining, but small Reformation.

Of Beer-Casks.

There is also daily Proof made what great Inconveniencies grow by the bad Cask which is used in his Majesty's Ships, being commonly so ill seasoned and conditioned, as that a great Part of the Beer is ever lost and cast away ; or (if for Necessity it be used) it breeds Infection, and corrupts all those that drink thereof ; for the Victuallers, for Cheapness, will buy stale Cask that hath been used for Herrings, Train-Oil, Fish, and other such unsavory Things, and thereinto fill the Beer that is provided for the King's Ships. Besides, the Cask is commonly so ill hooped, as that there is waste and leaking made of the fourth Part of all the Drink, were it never so good, which is a great Expence to his Majesty, a Hindrance of Service, and a Hazard of Men's Lives, when the Provision fails so much and answers not the Accompt. The which might easily be redressed, if the Cask for his Majesty's Shipping were purposely hooped in such Sort as Wine Cask is, or else hooped with Iron, which would ever serve, and save that continual Provision of new Cask, which now falls out every Voyage. But this Course were more profitable for his Majesty than for his Officers, and therefore unpleasing to be spoken of ; but yet such as serve in the Ships have good Cause to wish the Reformation thereof.

Of the Cook-rooms in his Majesty's Ships.

And whereas now the Cook-rooms in all of his Majesty's Ships are made below in Hold in the Waste, the
Incon-

Inconveniencies thereof are found many Ways by daily Use and Experience. For first, it is a great Spoil and Annoyance to all the Drink and Victuals which are bestowed in the Hold, by the Heat that comes from the Cook-room. Besides, it is very dangerous for Fire, and very offensive with the Smoke and unsavory Smells which it sends from thence. Moreover, it is a great Weakening to a Ship to have so much Weight and Charge at both the Ends, and nothing in the Midship, which causeth them to warp, and (in the Sea-pharse, with Mariners) is termed Camberkeel'd: Whereas, if the Cook-rooms were made in the Forecastle (as very fitly they might be) all those Inconveniencies above specified would be avoided, and then also would there be more room for Stowage of Victuals, or any other necessary Provisions, whereof there is now daily found great Want. And the Commodity of this new Cook-room the Merchants have found to be so great, as that in all their Ships (for the most Part) the Cook-rooms are built in their Forecastles, contrary to that which hath been anciently used. In which Change, notwithstanding, they have found no Inconvenience to their dressing of Meat in foul Weather, but rather a great Ease, howbeit their Ships go as long Voyages as any, and are, for their Burdens, as well man'd. For if any Storms arise, or the Sea grow so high as that the Kettle cannot boil in the Forecastles, yet having with their Beer and Bisket, Butter and Cheese, and with their pickled Herrings, Oil, Vinegar and Onions, or with their red Herrings and dry Sprats, Oil and Mustard, and other like Provisions that needs no Fire, these supply, and Varieties of Victuals, will very sufficiently content (and nourish) Men for a Time, until the Storm be overblown that kept the Kettle from boiling.

Of Mustering and Pressing able Mariners.

As concerning the Musters and Presses for sufficient Mariners to serve in his Majesty's Ships, either the Care therein is very little, or the Bribery very great; so that of all other Shipping, his Majesty's are ever the worst man'd, and at such Times as the Commissioners Commissions come out for the pressing of Mariners, the Officers do set out the most needy and unable Men, and (for Considerations to themselves best known) do discharge the better Sort, a Matter so commonly used, as that it is grown into a Proverb amongst the Sailors; That the Muster-masters do carry the best and ablest Men in their Pockets, a Custom very evil and dangerous, where the Service and Use of Men should come in Trial. For many of these poor Fishermen and Idlers, that are commonly presented to his Majesty's Ships, are so ignorant in Sea-service, as that they know not the Name of a Rope, and therefore insufficient for such Labour. The which might easily be redressed, if the Vice-Admiral of the Shire where Men are mustered, and two Justices, had Directions given to join with the Muster-masters for the Pressing of the best Men, whom they well know, and would not suffer the Service of their Prince and Country to be bought and sold, as a private Muster-master would do. Besides, the Captains themselves of the Ships, if they be bare and needy (though pity it were that Men of such Condition should have such Charge committed unto them) will oftentimes for Commodity chop and change away their good Men, and therefore it were fitly provided to bridle such odd Captains, that neither they themselves, nor any of their Men, should receive his Majesty's Pay but by the Pole, and according as they were set down in the Officers Books when they were delivered, without changing of any Names, except to supply such Men as are wanting by Death or Sicknes, upon good Testimony under the Hands

Hands of the Master, the Boatswain, the Master-Gunner, the Purser, and other Officers of the Ship. For it nearly concerns them to look well thereunto, having daily Use of them.

Of Arms and Munition.

It were a Course very comfortable, defensive and honourable, that there were for all his Majesty's Ships a Proportion of Swords, Targets of Proof, Morions, and Curats of Proof, allowed and set down for every Ship, according to his Burden, as a Thing both warlike, and used in the King of *Spain's* Ships, the Want whereof, as it is a great Discouragement to Men, if they come to any near Fight or Landing, so would the Use thereof be a great Annoyance and terrifying to the Enemy. And herein should his Majesty need to be at no extraordinary Expence ; for the abating of the superfluous great Pieces in every Ship, with their Allowance for Powder, Match and Shot, would supply the Cost of this Provision in very ample Manner.

Of Captains to serve in his Majesty's Ships.

At all such Times as his Majesty's Ships are employed in Service, it were very convenient that such Gentlemen as are his Majesty's own sworn Servants, should be preferred to the Charge of his Majesty's Ships, Choice being made of Men of Valour and Capacity, rather than to employ other Men's Men ; and that other of his Majesty's Servants should be dispersed privately in those Services to gain Experience, and to make themselves able to take Charge. By the which Means his Majesty should ever have Gentlemen of good Account, his own Servants, Captains of his own Ships, instead of petty Companions and other Men's Servants, who are often employed, being, indeed, a great Indignity to his Majesty, to his Shipping, and to his own Gentlemen. For that in Times past, it hath been re-
puted

puted a great Grace to any Man of the best Sort, to have the Charge of the Prince's Ship committed unto him; and by this Means there would ever be true Report made unto the Prince what Proceedings are used in the Service, which these meaner Sort of Captains dare not do, for fear of displeasing the Lords their Masters, by whom they are preferred, or being of an inferior Quality, have no good Access to the Presence of the Prince, whereby to have fit Opportunity to make Relation accordingly.

But now, forasmuch as I doubt not but that some contrary Spirits may, or will, object this as a sufficient Reason to infirm all those Points that I have formerly spoken of, and say unto me, Why should his Majesty and the State be troubled with this needless Charge of keeping and maintaining so great a Navy in such exquisite Perfection and Readiness? The Times being now peaceable, and little Use of Arms or Ships of War, either at home or abroad, but all safe and secure, as well by the uniting of the two Nations, as by the Peace which we hold with *Spain*, and all other Christian Princes? To this I answer, That this, indeed, may stand (at the first Sight) for a pretty superficial Argument to blear our Eyes, and lull us asleep in Security, and make us negligent and careless of those Causes from whence the Effects of Peace grows, and by the Virtue whereof it must be maintained. But we must not flatter and deceive ourselves, to think that this Calm and Concord proceeds either from a settled immutable Tranquillity in the World (which is full of Alterations and various Humours) or from the good Affections of our late Enemies, who have tasted too many Disgraces, Repulses, and Losses, by our Forces and Shipping, to wish our State so much Felicity as a happy and peaceable Government, if otherwise they had Power to hinder it. And therefore though the Sword be put into the Sheath, we must not suffer it there to rust, or stick so fast, as that we shall not be able to draw it readily
when

when Need requires. For albeit our Enemies have of late Years sought Peace with us, yet hath it proceeded out of the former Trial of our Forces in Times of War and Enmity. And therefore we may well say of them, as *Anneus* (*Prætor* of the *Latins*) said of the *Roman* Ambassadors, who seemed curious and careful to have the League maintained between them (which the *Roman* Estate was not accustomed to seek at their Neighbours Hands) and thereupon saith this *Anneus*, *unde hæc illis tanta modestia nisi ex cognitione virum & nostrarum & suarum*. For with the like Consideration and Respect have our late Enemies sought to renew the ancient Friendship and Peace with us. And well we may be assured, that if those powerful Means, whereby we reduced them to that Modesty and Courtesy as to seek us, were utterly laid aside and neglected, so as we could not again, upon Occasion readily assume the Use and Benefit of them as we have done; those proud mastering Spirits, finding us at such Advantage, would be more ready and willing to shake us by the Ears as Enemies, than to take us by the Hands as Friends. And therefore far be it from our Hearts to trust more to that Friendship of Strangers, that is but dissembled upon Policy and Necessity, than to the Strength of our own Forces, which hath been experienced with so happy Success. I confess, that Peace is a great Blessing of God, and blessed are the Peace-makers, and therefore, doubtless, blessed are those Means whereby Peace is gained and maintained. For well we know, that God worketh all Things here amongst us mediately by a secondary Means, the which Means of our Defence and Safety being Shipping, and Sea-Forces, are to be esteemed as his Gifts, and then only available and beneficial, when he withal vouchsafeth his Grace to use them aright.

OBSERVATIONS

TOUCHING

TRADE and COMMERCE

With the

HOLLANDER, and other Nations.

Presented to King *JAMES*.

Wherein is proved,

That our Sea and Land Commodities serve to
inrich and strengthen other Countries against
our own;

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

A Ccording to my Duty, I am imboldened to put your Majesty in mind, that about fourteen or fifteen Years past, I presented you a Book of extraordinary Importance for the Honour and Profit of your Majesty and Posterity; and doubting that it hath been laid aside, and not considered of, I am encouraged (under your Majesty's Pardon) to present unto you one more, consisting of five Propositions: Neither are they grounded upon vain or idle Grounds, but upon the Fruition of those wonderful Blessings wherewith God hath endued your Majesty's Sea and Land; by which Means you may not only enrich and fill your Coffers, but also increase such Might and Strength, (as shall appear, if it may stand with your Majesty's good liking to put the same in Execution in the true and right Form :) so that there is no Doubt but it will make you in short Time a Prince of such Power, so great, as shall make all the Princes your Neighbours, as well glad of your Friendship, as fearful to offend you: That this is so, I humbly desire that your Majesty will vouchsafe to peruse this Advertisement with that Care and Judgment which God hath given you.

Most humbly praying your Majesty, that whereas I presented these five Propositions together, as in their own Natures, jointly depending one of another, and so linked together, as the Distraction of any one will be an apparent Maim and Disabling to the rest; that your Majesty would be pleased that they may not be separated, but all handled together jointly and severally, by Commissioners, with as much Speed and Secrecy as can be, and made fit to be reported to your Majesty, whereby I may be the better able to perform to your Highness that which I have promised, and will perform upon my Life, if I be not prevented by

some that may seek to hinder the Honour and Profit of your Majesty for their own private Ends.

The true Ground, Course and Form, herein mentioned, shall appear how other Countries make themselves powerful and rich in all Kinds, by Merchandize, Manufactory, and Fulness of Trade, having no Commodities in their own Country growing to do it withal.

And herein likewise shall appear, how easy it is to draw the Wealth and Strength of other Countries to your Kingdom, and what royal, rich, and plentiful Means God hath given this Land to do it (which cannot be denied) for Support of Traffick, and continual Employment of your People, for replenishing of your Majesty's Coffers.

And if I were not fully assured to improve your native Commodities, with other Traffick, three Millions of Pounds more yearly than now they are, and to bring not only to your Majesty's Coffers, within the Space of two or three Years, near two Millions of Pounds, but to increase your Revenues many Thousands yearly, and to please and greatly profit your People, I would not have undertaken so great a Work: All which will grow by Advancement of all Kind of Merchandizing to the uttermost, thereby to bring Manufactory into the Kingdom, and to set on Work all Sorts of People in the Realm, as other Nations do, which raise their Greatness by the Abundance of your native Commodities, whilst we are parling and disputing whether it be good for us or not.

OBSERVATIONS

TOUCHING

TRADE and COMMERCE, &c.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

I Have diligently, in my Travels, observed how the Countries herein mentioned do grow potent with abundance of all Things to serve themselves and other Nations, where nothing groweth ; and that their never dried Fountains of Wealth, by which they raise their Estate to such an admirable Height, as that they are at this Day even a Wonder to the World, proceedeth from your Majesty's Seas and Lands.

I thus moved, began to dive into the Depth of their Policies and circumventing Practices, whereby they drain, and still covet to exhaust, the Wealth and Coin of this Kingdom, and so with our own Commodities to weaken us, and finally beat us quite out of Trading in other Countries. I found that they more fully obtained these their Purposes by their convenient Privileges, and settled constitutions, than *England* with all the Laws, and superabundance of home-bred Commodities which God hath vouchsafed your Sea and Land : And these, and other mentioned in this Book, are the urgent Causes that provoked me, in my Love and bounden Duty to your Majesty and my Country, to address my former Books to your princely Hands and Consideration.

By which Privileges they draw Multitudes of Merchants to trade with them, and many other Nations to inhabit amongst them, which makes them populous, and there they make Store-houses of all foreign Commo-

dities, wherewith, upon every Occasion of Scarcity and Dearth, they are able to furnish foreign Countries with Plenty of those Commodities, which before in Time of Plenty they engrossed and brought home from the same Places ; which doth greatly augment Power, Treasure to their State, besides the common Good in setting their Poor and People on Work.

To which Privileges they add Smallness of Custom, and Liberty of Trade, which maketh them flourish, and their Country so plentiful of all Kind of Coin and Commodities, where little or nothing groweth, and their Merchants so flourish, that when a Loss cometh they scarce feel it.

To bring this to pass they have many Advantages of us ; the one is, by their fashioned Ships called Boyers, Hoy-barks, Hoys, and others that are made to hold great Bulk of Merchandise, and to sail with a few Men for Profit. For Example, though an *English* Ship of two hundred Tons, and a *Holland* Ship, or any other of the petty States of the same Burden be at *Dantzick*, or any other Place beyond the Seas, or in *England*, they do serve the Merchant better cheap by one hundred Pounds in his Freight than we can, by reason he hath but nine or ten Mariners, and we near thirty ; thus he saveth twenty Men's Meat and Wages in a Voyage ; and so in all other their Ships according to their Burden, by which Means they are freighted wheresoever they come, to great Profit, whilst our Ships lie still and decay, or go to *Newcastle* for Coals.

Of this their Smallness of Custom inwards and outwards, we have daily Experience ; for if two *English* Ships, or two of any other Nations be at *Bordeaux*, both laden with Wine of three hundred Tons apiece, the one bound for *Holland*, or any other petty States, the other for *England*, the Merchant shall pay about nine hundred Pounds Custom here, and other Duties, when the other in *Holland*, or any other petty States, shall be cleared for less than fifty Pounds, and so in all
other

other Wares and Merchandizes accordingly, which draws all Nations to traffick with them; and although it seems but small Duties which they receive, yet the Multitudes of all Kind of Commodities and Coin that is brought in by themselves and others, and carried out by themselves and others, is so great, that they receive more Custom and Duties to the State, by the Greatness of their Commerce in one Year, than *England* doth in two Years; for the one hundredth Part of Commodities are not spent in *Holland*, but vended into other Countries, which maketh all the Country Merchants to buy and sell, and increase Ships and Mariners to transport them.

My Travels and Meaning is not to diminish (neither hath been) your Majesty's Revenues, but exceedingly to increase them, as shall appear, and yet please the People, as in other Parts they do.

Notwithstanding their Excises bring them in great Revenues, yet whosoever will adventure to *Bordeaux* but for six Tons of Wine, shall be free of Excise in his own House all the Year long; and this is done of purpose to animate and increase Merchants in their Country.

And if it happen that a Trade be stopped by any foreign Nation, which they heretofore usually had, or hear of any good Trading which they never had, they will hinder others, and seek either by Favour, Money, or Force, to open the Gap of Traffick for Advancement of Trade amongst themselves, and Employment of their People.

And when there is a new Course or Trade erected, they give free Custom inwards and outwards, for the better Maintenance of Navigation, and Encouragement of the People to that Business.

Thus they and others glean the Wealth and Strength from us to themselves; and these Reasons following procure them this Advantage of us.

1. The Merchant Staplers which maketh all Things in abundance, by reason of their Store-houses continually replenished with all Kind of Commodities.

2. The Liberty of free Traffick for Strangers to buy and sell in *Holland*, and other Countries and States, as if they were free-born, maketh great Intercourse.

3. The small Duties levied upon Merchants, draws all Nations to trade with them.

4. Their fashioned Ships continually freighted before ours, by reason of their few Mariners and great Bulk, serving the Merchant cheap.

5. Their Forwardness to further all manner of Trading.

6. Their wonderful Employment of their Busses for Fishing, and the great Returns they make.

7. Their giving free Custom inwards and outwards, for any new-erected Trade, by Means whereof they have gotten already almost the sole Trade into their Hands.

All Nations may buy and sell freely in *France*, and there is free Custom outwards twice or thrice in a Year, at which Time our Merchants themselves do make their great Sales of *English* Commodities, and do buy and lade their great Bulk of *French* Commodities to serve for the whole Year; and in *Roche* in *France*, and in *Britain*, free Custom all the Year long, except some small Toll, which makes great Traffick, and maketh them flourish.

In *Denmark*, to incourage and enrich the Merchants, and to increase Ships and Mariners, there is free Custom all the Year long for their own Merchants, except one Month between *Bartholomew-tide* and *Michaelmas*.

The *Hans-towns* have Advantage of us, as *Holland* and other petty States have, and in most Things imitate them, which makes them exceeding rich and plentiful of all Kind of Commodities and Coin, and so strong in Ships and Mariners, that some of their Towns have near one thousand Sail of Ships.

The Merhandifes of *France, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Turkey, East and West-Indies*, are transported most by the *Hollanders*, and other petty States, into the East and North-east Kingdoms of *Pomerland, Spruceland, Poland, Denmark, Sweedland, Leifland*, and *Germany*, and the Merchandises brought from the last-mentioned Kingdoms, being wonderful many, are likewise by the *Hollanders* and other petty States most transported into the Southern and Western Dominions, and yet the Situation of *England* lieth far better for a Store-house to serve the South-east and North-east Regions than theirs doth, and hath far better Means to do it, if we will bend our Course for it.

No sooner a Dearth of Fish, Wine, or Corn here, and other Merchandise, but forthwith the *Embdeners, Hamburgers, and Hollanders*, out of their Store-houses, lade fifty or one hundred Ships, or more, dispersing themselves round about this Kingdom, and carry away great Store of Coin and Wealth for little Commodity, in those Times of Dearth ; by which Means they suck our Commonwealth of her Riches, cut down our Merchants, and decay our Navigation ; not with their natural Commodities, which grow in their own Countries, but the Merchandises of other Countries and Kingdoms.

Therefore it is far more easy to serve ourselves, hold up our Merchants, and increase our Ships and Mariners, and strengthen the Kingdom ; and not only keep our Money in our own Realm, which other Nations still rob us of, but bring in theirs who carry ours away, and make the Bank of Coin and Store-house to serve other Nations as well, and far better cheap than they.

Amsterdam is never without seven hundred thousand Quarters of Corn, besides the Plenty they daily vend, and none of this groweth in their own Country : A Dearth in *England, France, Spain, Italy, Portugal*, and other Places, is truly observed to enrich *Holland* seven Years after, and likewise the petty States.

For Example, the last Dearth, six Years past, the *Hamburgers*, *Embdeners*, and *Hollanders*, out of their Store-houses, furnished this Kingdom; and from *Southampton*, *Exeter*, and *Bristol*, in a Year and a Half, they carried away near two hundred thousand Pounds from these Parts only: Then what great Quantity of Coin was transported round about your Kingdom from every Port-Town, and from your City of *London*, and other Cities, cannot be esteemed so little as two Millions, to the great Decay of your Kingdom, and impoverishing your People, Discredit to the Company of Merchants, and Dishonour to the Land, that any Nation that have no Corn in their own Country growing, should serve this famous Kingdom, which God hath so enabled within itself.

They have a continual Trade into this Kingdom with five or six hundred Ships yearly, with Merchandises of other Countries and Kingdoms, and store them up in Store-houses here until the Prices rise to their Minds; and we trade not with fifty Ships into their Country in a Year, and the said Number are about this Realm every Eastern Wind, for the most Part to lade Coals and other Merchandise.

Unless there be a Scarcity, or Dearth, or high Prices, all Merchants do forbear that Place where great Impositions are laid upon the Merchandise, and those Places slenderly shipped, ill served, and at dear Rates, and oftentimes in Scarcity, and want Employment for the People; and those petty States finding truly by Experience, that small Duties imposed upon Merchandise draw all Traffick unto them, and free Liberty for Strangers to buy and sell doth make continual Mart; therefore whatever Excises or Impositions are laid upon the common People, yet they still ease, uphold and maintain the Merchants by all possible Means, of Purpose to draw the Wealth and Strength of Christendom to themselves; whereby it appeareth, though the Duties be but small, yet the Customs for going out and coming in do
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so abound, that they increase their Revenues greatly, and make Profit, Plenty and Employment of all Sorts, by Sea and Land, to serve themselves and other Nations, as is admirable to behold: And likewise the great Commerce, which groweth by the same Means, enableth the common People to bear their Burden laid upon them, and yet they grow rich by reason of the great Commerce and Trade, occasioned by their convenient Privileges and commodious Constitutions.

There was an Intercourse of Traffick in *Genoa*, and there was the Flower of Commerce, as appeareth by their antient Records, and their sumptuous Buildings; for all Nations traded with Merchandise to them, and there was the Store-house of all *Italy*, and other Places; but after they had set a great Custom of 16 *per Cent.* all Nations left trading with them, which made them give themselves wholly to Usury, and at this Day we have not three Ships go there in a Year: But to the contrary, the Duke of *Florence* builded *Leghorn*, and set small Custom upon Merchandise, and gave them great and pleasing Privileges, which hath made a rich and strong City, with a flourishing State.

Furthermore, touching some Particulars needful to be considered of the mighty huge Fishing that ever could be heard of in the World, is upon the Coasts of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; but the great Fishery is in the *Low-Countries*, and other petty States, wherewith they serve themselves and all Christendom, as shall appear.

In four Towns in the East Kingdoms within the *Sound*, *Quinsbrough*, *Elbing*, *Statten*, and *Dantzick*, there are carried and vended in a Year, between thirty and forty thousand Lafts of Herrings, sold but at fifteen or sixteen Pounds the Laft, is about six hundred and twenty thousand Pounds, and we none.

Besides, *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Leifland*, *Rie*, *Nevill*, the *Narve*, and other Port Towns within the *Sound*, there is carried and vended above ten thousand

Lasts of *Herrings*, sold at fifteen or sixteen Pounds the Last, is one hundred and seventy thousand Pounds more yearly ; in such Request are our Herrings there, that they are oftentimes sold for twenty, twenty-four, thirty, and thirty-six Pounds the Last, and we send not one Barrel into all those East Countries.

The *Hollanders* sent into *Russia* near fifteen hundred Lasts of Herrings, sold about thirty Shillings the Barrel, amounteth to twenty-seven thousand Pounds, and we but about twenty or thirty Lasts.

To *Stoade*, *Hamborough*, *Bremen* and *Embs*, upon the River of *Elbe*, *Weser*, and *Embs*, are carried and vended, of Fish and Herrings, about six thousand Lasts, sold about fifteen or sixteen Pounds the Last, is one hundred thousand Pounds, and we none.

Cleaveland, *Gulickland*, up the River of *Rhine* to *Cullen*, *Francfort*, or the *Main*, and so over all *Germany*, is carried and vended, Fish and Herrings, near twenty-two thousand Last, sold at twenty Pounds the Last, is four hundred and twenty thousand Pounds, and we none.

Up the River of *Maiz*, *Leigh*, *Maestrich*, *Venlow*, *Zutphen*, *Deventer*, *Campen*, *Swoole*, and all over *Luke-land*, is carried and vended seven thousand Lasts of Herrings, sold at twenty Pounds the Last, is one hundred and forty thousand Pounds, and we none.

To *Guelderland*, *Artois*, *Hainault*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, up the River of *Antwerp*, all over the Arch-Duke's Countries, are carried and vended between eight or nine thousand Lasts, sold at eighteen Pounds the last, is one hundred and seventy-one thousand Pounds, and we none.

The *Hollanders*, and others, carried of all Sorts of Herrings to *Roan* only in one Year, besides all other Parts of *France*, fifty thousand Lasts of Herrings, sold at twenty Pounds the Last, is ten hundred thousand Pounds, and we not one hundred Lasts thither ; they
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are sold oftentimes there for twenty, and four and twenty, and thirty Pounds the Last.

Between *Christmas* and *Lent*, the Duties for Fish and Herrings came to fifteen thousand Crowns at *Roan* only, that Year the Queen deceased; Sir *Thomas Parry* was Agent there then, and *S. Savors* his Man, knows it to be true, who handled the Business for pulling down the Impositions. Then what great Sums of Money came to all in the Port-Towns to enrich the *French* King's Coffers, and to all the King's and States throughout Christendom, to enrich their Coffers; besides the great Quantity vended to the Streights, and the Multitude spent in the *Low-Countries*, where there is likewise sold for many a hundred thousand Pounds more yearly, is necessary to be remembered; and the Stream to be turned to the Good of this Kingdom, to whose Sea-coasts God only hath sent and given these great Blessings, and Multitude of Riches for us to take, howsoever it hath been neglected, to the Hurt of this Kingdom, that any Nation should carry away out of this Kingdom yearly great Masses of Money for Fish taken in our Seas, and sold again by them to us, which must needs be a great Dishonour to our Nation, and Hindrance to this Realm.

From any Port-Town of any Kingdom within Christendom, the Bridge-master, or Wharf-master, for twenty Shillings a Year, will deliver a true Note of the Number of Lasts of Herrings brought to their Wharfs, and their Prices commonly they are sold at; but the Number brought to *Dantzick*, *Cullen*, *Rotterdam*, and *Enchuisen*, is so great, as it will cost three, four, or five Pounds for a true Note.

The Abundance of Corn groweth in the East Kingdoms, but the great Store-houses for Grain to serve Christendom, and the heathen Countries in the Time of Dearth, is in the *Low-Countries*, wherewith, upon every Occasion of Scarcity and Dearth they do enrich themselves seven Years after, employ their People, and
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get great Freights for their Ships in other Countries, and we not one in that Course.

The mighty Vineyards and Store of Salt is in *France* and *Spain*; but the great Vintage and Staple of Salt is in the *Low-Countries*, and they send near one thousand Sail of Ships with Salt and Wine only into the East Kingdoms yearly, besides other Places, and we not one in that Course.

The exceeding Groves of Wood are in the East Kingdoms, but the huge Piles of Wainscot, Clapboard, Fir-deal, Masts, and Timber, is in the *Low-Countries*, where none grow, wherewith they serve themselves and other Parts, and this Kingdom with those Commodities; they have five or six hundred great long Ships continually using that Trade, and we none in that Course.

The Wool, Cloth, Lead, Tin, and divers other Commodities, are in *England*; but by Means of our Wool and Cloth going out rough, undress'd, and undy'd, there is an exceeding Manufactory and Drapery in the *Low-Countries*, wherewith they serve themselves and other Nations, and advance greatly the Employment of their People at home, and Traffick abroad, and put down ours in foreign Parts, where our Merchants trade unto, with our own Commodities.

We send into the East Kingdoms, yearly, but one hundred Ships, and our Trade chiefly dependeth upon three Towns, *Elbing*, *Kingsborough*, and *Dantzick*, for making our Sails, and buying their Commodities sent into this Realm at dear Rates, which this Kindom bears the Burden of.

The *Low-Countries* send into the East Kingdoms yearly, about three thousand Ships, trading into every City and Port-Town, taking the Advantage, and vending their Commodities to exceeding Profit, and buying and lading their Ships with Plenty of those Commodities, which they have from every of those Towns 20 *per Cent.* cheaper than we, by reason of the Difference of
the

the Coin, and their Fish yields ready Money, which greatly advanceth their Traffick, and decayeth ours.

They fend into *France, Spain, Portugal, Italy*, from the East Kingdoms that passeth through the *Sound*, and through your narrow Seas, yearly, of the East Country Commodities, about two thousand Ships, and we none in that Course.

They trade into all Cities, and Port-Towns in *France*, and we chiefly to five or six.

They traffick into every City and Port-Town round about this Land, with five or six hundred Ships yearly, and we chiefly but to three Towns in their Country, and but with forty Ships.

Notwithstanding the *Low-Countries* have as many Ships and Vessels as eleven Kingdoms of Christendom have, let *England* be one, and build every Year near one thousand Ships, and not a Timber-tree growing in their own Country, and that also all their home-bred Commodities that grow in their Land in a Year, less than one hundred good Ships are able to carry them away at one Time ; yet they handle the Matter so for setting them all on work, that their Traffick with the *Hans-towns* exceeds in Shipping all *Christendom*.

We have all Things of our own in super-abundance to increase Traffick, and Timber to build Ships, and Commodities of our own to lade about one thousand Ships and Vessels at one Time (besides the great Fishing) and as fast as they have made their Voyages might relade again, and so Year after Year all the Year long to continue ; yet our Ships and Mariners decline, and Traffick and Merchants daily decay.

The main Bulk and Mass of Herrings from whence they raise so many Millions yearly, that enrich other Kingdoms, Kings and States Coffers, and likewise their own People, proceedeth from your Seas and Lands, and the Return of the Commodities and Coin they bring home in Exchange of Fish, and other Commodities, are so huge, as would require a large Discourse
apart ;

apart ; all the Amends they make us is, they beat us out of Trade in all Parts with our own Commodities.

For Instance, we had a great Trade in *Russia* seventy Years, and about fourteen Years past we sent Store of goodly Ships to trade in those Parts, and three Years past we set out but four, and this last Year two or three ; but to the contrary, the *Hollanders* about twenty Years since traded thither with two Ships only, yet now they are increased to about thirty or forty, and one of their Ships is as great as two of ours, and at the same time (in their Troubles there) that we decreased, they increased ; and the chief Commodities they carry with them thither, is *English* Cloth, Herrings taken in our Seas, *English* Lead and Pewter made of our Tin, besides other Commodities ; all which we may do better than they. And although it be a cheap Country, and the Trade very gainful, yet we have almost brought it to nought, by disorderly Trading, joint Stock, and the Merchants banding themselves one against another.

And so likewise we used to have eight or nine great Ships to go continually a fishing to *Wardhouse*, and this Year but one, and so, *pro rato*, they outgo us in all Kind of Fishing and Merchandizing in all Countries, by reason they spare no Cost, nor deny no Privileges that may encourage Advancement of Trade and Manufactory.

Now if it please, and with your Majesty's good Liking stand, to take Notice of these Things, which I conceive to be fit for your Majesty's Consideration, which in all Humbleness (as Duty bindeth me) I do tender unto your Majesty, for the unfeigned Zeal I bear to the Advancement of your Honour and Profit, and the general Good of your Subjects ; it being apparent, that no three Kingdoms in Christendom can compare with your Majesty for Support of Traffick, and continual Employment of your People within themselves, having so many great Means, both by Sea and Land, to enrich your Coffers, multiply your Navy, inlarge your Traffick, make your Kingdoms powerful, and
your

your People rich ; yet, through Idleness, they are poor, wanting Employment, many of your Land and Coast-Towns much ruined, and your Kingdom in need of Coin, your Shipping, Traffick, and Mariners decayed, whilst your Majesty's Neighbour Princes, without these Means, abound in Wealth, enlarge their Towns, increase their Shipping, Traffick, and Mariners, and find out such Employment for their People, that they are all advantageous to their Commonwealth, only by ordaining commodious Constitutions in Merchandizing, and Fulness of Trade and Manufactory.

God hath blest'd your Majesty with incomparable Benefits ; as with Copper, Lead, Iron, Tin, Allum, Copperas, Saffron, Fells, and divers other native Commodities, to the Number of about one Hundred, and other Manufactories vendible, to the Number of about one Thousand, (as shall appear) besides Corn, whereof great Quantity of Beer is made, and most transported by Strangers ; as also Wool, whereof much is shipped forth unwrought into Cloth or Stuffs, and Cloth transported undress'd and undy'd, which doth employ and maintain near fifty thousand People in foreign Parts, your Majesty's People wanting the Employment in *England*, many of them being enforced to live in great Want, and seek it beyond the Seas.

Coals, which do employ hundreds of Strangers Ships yearly to transport them out of this Kingdom, whilst we do not employ twenty Ships in that Course.

Iron Ordnance, which is a Jewel of great value, far more than it is accounted, by reason that no other Country could ever attain unto it, although they have assayed with great Charge.

Your Majesty hath Timber of your own for building of Ships, and Commodities plenty to lade them, which Commodities other Nations want, yet your Majesty's People decline in Shipping, Traffick, and Mariners,

These

These Inconveniencies happen by three Causes especially.

1. The unprofitable Course of Merchandising:
2. The Want of Course of full Manufactory of our home-bred Commodities.
3. The undervaluing of our Coins, contrary to the Rules of other Nations.

For Instance. The Merchant Adventurers by over-trading upon Credit, or with Money taken up upon Exchange, whereby they lose usually ten or twelve, and sometimes fifteen or sixteen *per Cent.* are enforced to make Sale of their Cloths at under Rates, or keep their Credit, whereby Cloth, being the Jewel of the Land, is undervalued, and the Merchant in short Time eaten out.

The Merchants of *Ipswich*, whose Trade for *Elbing* is chiefly for fine Cloths, all dy'd and drefs'd within our Land, do, for the most Part, buy their fine Cloths upon Time ; and by reason they go so much upon Credit, they are enforced (not being able to stand upon their Markets) to sell, giving fifteen or eighteen Months Day of Payment for their Cloths, and having sold them, they then presently sell their Bills so taken for Cloth, allowing after the Rate of fourteen or fifteen, and sometimes twenty *per Cent.* which Money they employ forthwith in Wares at excessive Prices, and lose as much more that Way, by that Time their Wares be sold at home : Thus by over-running themselves upon Credit, they disable themselves and others, inhancing the Prices of foreign Commodities, and pulling down the Rates of our own.

The West-country Merchants that trade with Cloths into *France* or *Spain*, do usually employ their Servants (young Men of small Experience) who by cunning Combining of the *French* and *Spanish* Merchants, are so entrapped, that when all Customs and Charges be accounted, their Masters shall hardly receive their principal Monies. As for Returns out of *France*, their
Silver

Silver and Gold is so highly rated, that our Merchants cannot bring it home, but to great Loss; therefore the *French* Merchants set higher Rates upon their Commodities, which we must either buy dear, or let our Monies lie dead there a long Time, until we can conveniently employ the same.

The Northern Merchants of *York, Hull, and Newcastle*, trade only in white Kerseys and coloured, Dozens; and every Merchant, be his Adventure never so small, doth, for the most part, send over an unexperienced Youth, unfit for merchandising, which bringeth to the Stranger great Advantage, but to his Master and Commonwealth great Hindrance; for they, before their Goods be landed, go to the Stranger, and buy such Quantities of Iron, Flax, Corn, and other Commodities, as they are bound to lade their Ships withal, which Ships they engage themselves to relade within three Weeks, or a Month, and do give the Price the Merchant Stranger asketh, because he gives them Credit, and lets them ship away their Iron, Flax, and other Commodities, before they have sold their Kerseys, and other Commodities, by which Means extraordinary dear Commodities are returned into this Realm, and the Servant also enforced to sell his Cloths under-foot, and oftentimes to Loss, to keep his Credit, and to make Payment for the Goods before shipped home, having some twenty Days or a Month's Respite to sell the Cloths, and to give the Merchant Satisfaction for his Iron, Flax, and other Wares; by which Extremities our home-bred Commodities are abased.

Touching Manufactory.

There have been about fourscore thousand undress'd and undy'd Cloths yearly transported.

It is therefore evident, that the Kingdom hath been yearly deprived of about four hundred thousand Pounds within these five and fifty Years, which is near twenty

Millions that would have been gained by the Labour of poor Workmen in that Time, with the Merchants Gains for bringing in dying Stuffs, and Return of Cloths dress'd and dy'd, with other Benefits to the Realm, besides exceeding enlarging of Traffick, and Increase of Ships and Mariners.

There would have been gained in that Time about three Millions, by Increase of Custom upon Commodities returned for Cloths dress'd and dy'd, and for dying Stuffs, which would have more plentifully been brought in and used for the same.

There hath been also transported in that Time yearly by Bays, *Northern* and *Devonshire* Kerseys, white, about fifty thousand Cloths, counting three Kerseys to a Cloth, whereby hath been lost about five Millions by those Sorts of Cloths in that Time, which would have come to poor Workmen for their Labour, with the Customs for dying Stuffs, and the People's Profit for bringing them in, with Returns of other Commodities, and Freights for Shipping.

Bays are transported white into *Amsterdam*, and there being dress'd and dy'd, are shipped into *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other Kingdoms, where they are sold in the Name of *Flemish* Bays, setting their own Town-Seal upon them; so that we lose the very Name of our home-bred Commodities, and other Countries get the Reputation and Profit thereof. Lamentable it is, that this Land should be deprived of so many above-mentioned Millions, and that our native Commodities of Cloth, ordained by God for the natural Subjects, being so royal and rich in itself, should be driven to so small Advantage of Reputation and Profit to your Majesty and People, and so much improved and intercepted by Strangers, considering that God hath enabled, and given your Majesty Power to advance dressing and dying, and transporting of all your Cloths within a Year or two; I speak it knowingly, to shew how it may be
done

done laudably, lawfully, and approved to be honourable, feasible, and profitable.

All the Companies of your Land transport their Cloths dress'd and dy'd, to the Good of your Kingdom, except the Merchant Adventurers, whereby the *Eastland* and *Turkey* Merchants, with other Companies, do increase your Majesty's Customs, by bringing in, and spending dying Stuffs, and setting your People on work, by dressing before they transport them; and they might increase far more Custom to your Majesty, and make much more Profit to themselves and this Realm, and set many Thousands of poor People more on work for dressing and dying, and likewise employ more Ships and Mariners, for bringing in dying Stuffs, were it not for the Merchant Adventurers, who transport their Cloths white, rough, undress'd and undy'd, into the *Low-Countries*, where they sell them to the Strangers, who afterwards dress, dye, and stretch them to such *unreasonable Lengths*, contrary to our Law, that they prevent and forestall our Markets, and cross the just Prohibitions of our State and Realm, by their Agents and Factors lying in divers Places with our own Cloths, to the great Decay of this Kingdom in general, and Discredit of our Cloths in particular.

If the Accompt were truly known, it would be found that they make not clear Profit only by Cloth transported rough, undress'd, and undy'd, sixty thousand Pounds a Year: But it is most apparent your Majesty in your Customs, your Merchants in their Sales and Prices, your Subjects in their Labours, for lack of not dressing and dying, your Ships and Mariners, in not bringing in of dying Stuffs, and spending of Allum, is hindered yearly near a Million of Pounds; so that Trade is driven to the great Hindrance of your Majesty and People, by permitting your native Commodities to pass rough, undress'd, and undy'd, by the Merchant Adventurer.

Touching Fishing.

The great Sea-busines of Fishing doth employ near twenty thousand Ships and Vessels, and four hundred thousand People are employed yearly upon your Coast of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with sixty Ships of War, which may prove dangerous.

The *Hollanders* only have about three thousand Ships to fish withal, and fifty thousand People are employed yearly by them upon your Majesty's Coasts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

These three thousand fishing Ships and Vessels of the *Hollanders* do employ near nine thousand other Ships and Vessels, and one hundred and fifty thousand Persons more by Sea and Land to make Provision to dress and transport the Fish they take, and return Commodities, whereby they are enabled, and do build yearly one thousand Ships and Vessels, having not one Timber-tree growing in their own Country, nor home-bred Commodities to lade one hundred Ships, and yet they have twenty thousand Ships and Vessels, and all employed.

King *Henry* the Seventh, desirous to make his Kingdoms powerful and rich, by Increase of Ships and Mariners, and Employment of his People, sent unto his Sea-coast Towns, moving them to set up the great and rich Fishing, with Promise to give them needful Privileges, and to furnish them with Loans of Money, if need were, to encourage them; yet his People were slack. Now since I have traced this Business, and made mine Endeavours known unto your Majesty, your Noblemen, able Merchants, and others, (who having set down under their Hands for more Assurance) promised to disburse large Sums of Money for the building up of this great and rich large Sea-city, which will increase more Strength to your Land, give more Comfort, and do more good to all your Cities and Towns, than all the Companies of your Kingdom, having fit
and

and needful Privileges, for the upholding and strengthening of so weighty and needful a Business.

For Example, twenty Busses built and put into a Soa-coast Town where there is not one Ship before, there must be to carry, recarry, transport, and make Provision for one Bus, three Ships; likewise every Ship setting on work thirty several Trades and Occupations, and four hundred thousand Persons by Sea and Land, insomuch as three hundred Persons are not able to make one Fleet of Nets in four Months for one Bus, which is no small Employment.

Thus by twenty Busses are set on work, near eight thousand Persons by Sea and Land, and an Increase of above one thousand Mariners, and a Fleet of eighty Sail of Ships to belong to one Town, where none were before to take the Wealth out of the Sea, to enrich and strengthen the Land, only by raising of twenty Busses.

Then what good one thousand or two thousand will do, I leave to your Majesty's Consideration.

It is worthy to be noted, how necessary Fishermen are to the Commonwealth, and how needful to be advanced and cherished, &c.

1. For taking God's Blessing out of the Sea to enrich the Realm, which otherwise we lose.

2. For setting the People on work.

3. For making Plenty and Cheapness in the Realm.

4. For increasing of Shipping, to make the Land powerful.

5. For a continual Nursery for breeding and increasing our Mariners.

6. For making Employment of all Sorts of People, as blind, lame, and others, by Sea and Land, from ten or twelve Years and upwards.

7. For enriching your Majesty's Coffers, by Merchandises returned from other Countries for Fish and Herrings.

8. For the Increase and enabling of Merchants, which now droop and daily decay.

Touching the Coin.

For the most Part, all Monarchies and free States, both Heathen and Christian, as *Turky, Barbary, France, Poland*, and others, do hold for a Rule of never-failing Profit, to keep their Coin at higher Rates within their own Territories, than it is in other Kingdoms.

The Causes.

1. To preserve the Coin within their own Territories.
2. To bring unto themselves the Coin of foreign Princes.
3. To enforce Merchant Strangers to take their Commodities at high Rates, which this Kingdom bears the Burden of.

For Instance.

The King of *Barbary* perceiving the Trade of Christian Merchants to increase in his Kingdom, and that the Returns out of his Kingdoms were most in Gold, whereby it was much enhanced, raised his Ducat (being then current for three Ounces) to four, five, and six Ounces; nevertheless it was no more worth in *England*, being so raised, than when it went for three Ounces.

This Ducat, current for three Ounces in *Barbary*, was then worth in *England* seven Shillings and Sixpence; and no more Worth, being raised to six Ounces; since which Time (adding to it a small Piece of Gold) he hath raised it to eight, and lastly, to ten Ounces; yet at this Day it is worth but ten Shillings and one Penny, notwithstanding your Majesty's late raising of your Gold.

Having thus raised his Gold, he then devised to have Plenty of Silver brought into his Kingdom, raised the

the Royal of Eight, being but two Ounces, to three and three Pence Half-penny, which caused great Plenty of Silver to be brought in, and to continue in his Kingdom.

F R A N C E.

The *English Jacobus* goeth for three and twenty Shillings in merchandizing.

The *French Crown* for seven Shillings and Six-pence.

Also the King hath raised his Silver four Souce in the Crown.

N O R T H - H O L L A N D.

The double *Jacobus* goeth for three and twenty Shillings *Sterling*.

The *English Shilling* is there eleven Stivers, which is two Shillings over in the Pound.

P O L A N D.

The King of *Poland* raised his *Hungary Ducat* from fifty-six to seventy-seven and an half *Polish Grosches*, and the *Rix-Dollar* from thirty-six to forty-seven and an half *Grosches*; the *Rix-Dollar*, worth in *Poland* forty-seven and an half *Grosches*, is, by Account, valued at six Shillings and Four-pence *Sterling*, and here in *England* is worth but four Shillings and Seven pence; the *Hungary Ducat*, seventy-seven, is worth, by Account, in *Poland* ten Shillings and Four-pence, and in *England* is worth but seven Shillings and Ten-pence; the *Jacobus* of *England*, here current for twenty-two Shillings, in *Poland* twenty-four Shillings, at the Rate of seven Shillings and Ten-pence for the *Hungary Ducat*.

Now to turn the Stream and Riches raised by your Majesty's native Commodities into the natural Channel; from whence it hath been a long Time diverted; may it please your Majesty to consider these Points following.

1. Whether it be not fit that a State-Merchant be settled within your Dominions, which may both dispose more profitably of the Riches thereof, and encounter Policies of Merchant Strangers, who now go beyond us in all Kind of profitable Merchandising?

2. Whether it be not necessary, that your native Commodities should receive their full Manufactory by your Subjects within your Dominions?

3. Whether it be not fit the Coals should yield your Majesty and Subjects a better Value, by permitting them to pass out of the Land, and that they be in your Subjects Shipping only transported?

4. Whether it be not fit your Majesty presently raise your Coin to as high Rates as it is in the Parts beyond the Seas?

5. Whether it be not necessary that the great Sea-busines of Fishing be forthwith set forward?

If it please your Majesty to approve of these Considerations, and accordingly to put them in a right Course of Execution, I assure myself (by God's Help) in short Time your Majesty's Customs, and the continual comings into your Coffers, will be exceedingly increased, your Ships and Mariners trebled, your Land and waste Towns (which are now run out of Gates) better replenished, and your People employed, to the great enriching and Honour of your Kingdom, with the Applause, and to the Comfort of all your Loyal Subjects.

May it please your Majesty,

I have the rather undergone the Pains to look into their Policies, because I have heard them profess they hoped to get the whole Trade and Shipping of Christendom into their own Hands, as well for Transportation, as otherwise, for the Command and Mastery of the Seas; to which End I find that they do daily increase their Traffick, augmenting their Shipping, multiplying their Mariners Strength and Wealth in all Kinds, whereat

whereat I have grieved the more, when I consider'd how God hath endued this Kingdom, above any three Kingdoms in Christendom, with divers Varieties of home-bred Commodities, which others have not, and cannot want, and endowed us with fundry other Means to continue and maintain Trade of Merchandising and Fishing beyond them all, whereby we might prevent the Deceivers, ingross the Commodities of the Ingrossers, enrich ourselves, and increase our Navigation, Shipping, and Mariners, so as it would make all Nations to vail the Bonnet to *England*, if we would not be still wanting to ourselves in Employment of our People.

Which People being divided into three Parts, two Parts of them are mere Spenders and Consumers of a Commonwealth, therefore I aim at these Points following.

To allure and encourage the People for their private Gain, to be all Workers and Erecters of a Commonwealth.

To enrich and fill your Majesty's Coffers by a continual coming in, and making your People wealthy, by Means of their great and profitable Trading and Employment.

To vend our home-bred Commodities to far more Reputation, and much more Profit to the King, the Merchant, and the Kingdom.

To return the Merchandises of other Countries at far cheaper Rates than now they are, to the great Good of the Realm in general.

To make the Land powerful by increasing of Ships and Mariners.

To make your People's Takings in general to be much more every Day than now they are, which, by God's Help, will grow continually more and more, by the great Concourse and Commerce that will come by settled Constitutions and convenient Privileges, as in other Parts they do by this their great Freedom of Trade.

All this, and much more, is done in other Countries, where nothing groweth ; so that of nothing they make great Things.

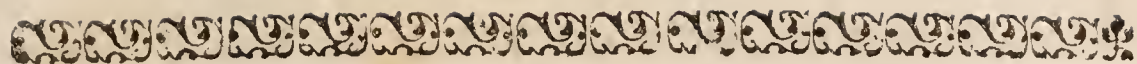
Then how much more mighty Things might we make, where so great Abundance and Variety of home-bred Commodities and rich Materials grow for your People to work upon, and other plentiful Means to do that withal, which other Nations neither have, nor cannot want, but of Necessity must be furnished from hence ? And now, whereas our Merchandising is wild, utterly confused, and out of Frame, as at large appeareth, a State-Merchant will roundly and effectually bring all the Premises to pass, fill your Havens with Ships, those Ships with Mariners, your Kingdom full of Merchants, their Houses full of outlandish Commodities, and your Coffers full of Coin, as in other Places they do, and your People shall have just Cause to hold in happy Memory, that your Majesty was the Beginner of so profitable, praise-worthy, and renowned a Work, being the true Philosopher's Stone to make your Majesty a rich and potent King, and your Subjects happy People, only by settling of a State-Merchant, whereby your People may have Fulness of Trade and Manufactory, and yet hold both honourable and profitable Government, without breaking of Companies.

And for that in the settling of so weighty a Business, many Things of great Consequence must necessarily fall into Consideration, I humbly pray, that your Majesty may be pleased (for the bringing of this great Service to Light) to give me leave to nominate the Commissioners, and your Majesty to give them Power to call before them such Men as they shall think fit to confer with upon Oath, or otherwise, as Occasion shall offer ; that the said Commissioners, with all Speed, for the better Advancement of this honourable and profitable Work, may prepare and report the same unto your Majesty.

Your Majesty's most loyal and true-hearted Subject,

W. RALEIGH.

A
V O Y A G E
F O R T H E
D I S C O V E R Y
O F
G U I A N A.



T O T H E

Right Hon. my singular good Lord and Kinsman,

CHARLES HOWARD,

Knight of the Garter, Baron and Counsellor, and of the
Admirals of *England* the most renowned.

And to the Right Honourable

Sir *ROBERT CECIL*, Knight.

Counsellor in her Highnesses Privy-Counsels.

FOR your Honours many honourable and friendly Parts, I have hitherto only returned Promises; and now, for Answer of both your Adventures, I have sent you a Bundle of Papers which I have divided between your Lordship and Sir *Robert Cecil* in these two Respects chiefly: First, for that it is Reason that wasteful Factors, when they have consumed such Stocks as they had in Trust, do yield some Colour for the same in their Account. Secondly, for that I am assured that whatsoever shall be done, or written by me, shall need a double Protection and Defence. The Tryal that I had of both your Loves, when I was left of all, but of Malice and Revenge, makes me still presume that you will be pleased (knowing what little Power I had to perform ought, and the great Advantage of forewarned Enemies) to answer that out of Knowledge, which others shall but object out of Malice. In my more happy Times, as

I

E P I S T L E

I did especially honour you both, so I found that your Loves fought me out in the darkeſt Shadow of Adverſity, and that the ſame Affection which accompanied my better Fortune, ſoared not away from me in my many Miſeries ; all which though I cannot requite, yet I ſhall ever acknowledge ; and the great Debt which I have no Power to pay, I can do no more, for a Time, but confeſs to be due. It is true, that as my Errors were great, ſo they have yielded very grievous Effects, and if ought might have been deſerved in former Times to have counterpoised any Part of Offences, the Fruit thereof (as it ſeemeth) was long before fallen from the Tree, and the dead Stock only remained. I did therefore, even in the Winter of my Life, undertake theſe Travels, fitter for Bodies leſs blaſted with Miſfortunes, for Men of greater Ability, and for Minds of better Encouragement, that thereby, if it were poſſible, I might recover but the Moderation of Exceſs, and the leaſt Taſte of the greateſt Plenty formerly poſſeſſed. If I had known other Way to win, if I had imagined how greater Adventures might have regained, if I could conceive what farther Means I might yet uſe, but even to appeaſe ſo powerful a diſpleaſure, I would not doubt but for one year more, to hold faſt my Soul in my Teeth, till it were performed. Of that little Remain I had, I have waſted, in Effect, all herein, I have undergone many Conſtructions, I have been accompanied with many Sorrows, with Labour, Hunger, Heat, Sickneſs, and Peril : It appeareth, notwithstanding, that I made no other Bravado of going to the Sea than was meant, and that I was neither hidden in *Cornwal*, or elſewhere, as was ſuppoſed. They have groſſly bely'd me, that forejudged that I would rather become a Servant to the *Spaniſh* King, than return ; and the reſt were much miſtaken, who would have perſuaded, that I was too eaſeful and ſenſual to undertake a Journey of ſo great Travel. But if what I have done receive the gracious

Con-

DEDICATORY.

Construction of a painful Pilgrimage, and purchase the least Remission, I shall think all too little, and that there were wanting to the rest many Miseries: But if both the Times past, the present, and what may be in the future, do all, by one Grain of Gall, continue in an eternal Distaste, I do not then know whether I should bewail myself either for my too much travel and Expence, or condemn myself for doing less than that, which can deserve nothing. From myself I have deserved no Thanks, for I am returned a Beggar, and withered; but that I might have bettered my poor Estate, it shall appear by the following Discourse, if I had not only respected her Majesty's future Honour and Riches. It became not the former Fortune in which I once lived, to go Journeys of Picory; and it had sortd ill with the Offices of Honour, which by her Majesty's Grace, I hold this Day in *England*, to run from Cape to Cape, and from Place to Place, for the Pillage of ordinary Prizes. Many Years since, I had Knowledge, by Relation, of that mighty, rich, and beautiful Empire of *Guiana*, and of that great and golden City, which the Spaniards call *El Dorado*, and the Naturals *Manoa*, which City was conquered, re-edified, and enlarged by a younger Son of *Guainacapa* Emperor of *Peru*, at such Time as *Francisco Pizarro*, and others, conquered the said Empire, from his two elder Brethren *Guascar* and *Atabalipa*, both then contended for the same, the one being favoured by the *Orciones* of *Cuzco*, the other by the People of *Caximalca*. I sent my Servant *Jacob Whiddon* the Year before, to get Knowledge of the Passages, and I had some Light from Captain *Parker*, sometime my Servant, and now attending on your Lordship, that such a Place there was to the Southward of the great Bay of *Charuas*, or *Guanipa*; but I found that it was six hundred Miles farther off then they supposed, and many other Impediments to them unknown and unheard. After I had displanted *Don Antonio de Berreo*, who was upon the
same

E P I S T L E

same Enterprife, leaving my Ships at *Trinidado*, at the Port called *Curiapan*, I wandered four hundred Miles into the faid Country, by Land and River ; the particulars I will leave to the following Difcourfe. The Country hath more Quantity of Gold, by manifold, then the beft Parts of the *Indies*, or *Peru* ; all or moft of the Kings of the Borders are already become her Majesty's Vaffals, and feem to defire nothing more than her Majesty's Protection, and the Return of the *Englifh* Nation. It hath another Ground and Affurance of Riches and Glory, than the Voyages of the *West-Indies*, and an eafier Way to invade the beft Parts thereof, than by the common Courfe. The King of *Spain* is not fo impoverifhed by taking two or three Port-Towns in *America* as we fuppofe, neither are the Riches of *Peru*, or *Nueva Eſpania*, fo left by the Seafide, as it can be eafily waſh'd away with a great Flood, or Spring-tide, or left dry upon the Sands on a low Ebb. The Port-Towns are few and poor, in reſpect of the reſt within the Land, and are of little Defence, and are only rich when the Fleets are to receive the Treafure for *Spain* ; and we might think the *Spaniards* very fimple, having fo many Horſes and Slaves, that if they could not upon two Days Warning carry all the Gold they have into the Land, and far enough from the Reach of our Footmen, eſpecially the *Indies* being (as it is for the moſt Part) fo mountainous, fo full of Woods, Rivers, and Marſhes. In the Port-Towns of the Province of *Venſuello*, as *Cumana*, *Coro*, and *S. Jago* (whereof *Coro* and *S. Jago* were taken by Captain *Preſton*, and *Cumana* and *S. Joſeph* by us) we found not the Value of one Rial of Plate in either ; but the Cities of *Barquiſimeta*, *Valentia*, *S. Sebastian*, *Cororo*, *S. Lucia*, *Alleguna*, *Marecabo*, and *Truxillo*, are not fo eafily invaded ; neither doth the Burning of thoſe on the Coaſt impoveriſh the King of *Spain* any one Ducat ; and if we ſack the River of *Hache*, *S. Marta*, and *Cartagena*, which are the Ports of

DEDICATORY.

Nuevo Reyno and *Popayan*; there are besides within the Land, which are indeed rich and populous, the Towns and Cities of *Merida*, *Lagrita*, *S. Christophero*, the great Cities of *Pampelone*, *S. Fe de Bogota*, *Tunia* and *Mozo* where the Emeralds are found, the Towns and Cities of *Moriquito*, *Velis*, *la Villa de Leua*, *Palma*, *Unda*, *Angustura*, the great City of *Timana*, *Tocaima*, *S. Aguila*, *Pasto*, *Juago*, the great City of *Popayan* itself, *Los Remedios*, and the rest. If we take the Ports and Villages within the Bay of *Vraba*, in the Kingdom or Rivers of *Dariena*, and *Caribana*, the Cities and Towns of *S. Juan de Roydas*, of *Cassaris*, of *Antiocha*, *Caramanta*, *Cali*, and *Auserma* have Gold enough to pay the King Part, and are not easily invaded by the Way of the Ocean; or if *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama* be taken, in the Province of *Castillo de Oro*, and the Villages upon the Rivers of *Cenu* and *Chagre*. *Peru* hath besides those, and besides the magnificent Cities of *Quito* and *Lima*, so many Islands, Ports, Cities and Mines, as if I should name them with the rest, it would seem incredible to the Reader; of all which, because I have written a particular Treatise of the *West-Indies*, I will omit their Repetition at this Time, seeing that in the said Treatise I have anatomized the rest of the Sea-Towns, as well of *Nicaragna*, *Jucata*, *Nueva*, *Espanna*, and the Islands, as those of the Inland, and by what Means they may be best invaded, as far as my mean Judgment can comprehend. But I hope it shall appear that there is a Way found to answer every Man's Longing, a better *Indies* for her Majesty than the King of *Spain* hath any; which if it shall please her Highness to undertake, I shall most willingly end the rest of my Days in following the same. If it be left to the Spoil and Sackage of common Persons, if the Love and Service of so many Nations be despised, so great Riches, and so mighty an Empire refused, I hope her Majesty will yet take my humble Desire, and my Labour therein, in gracious Part, which if it had not been in Respect of
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EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

her Highness's future Honour and Riches, I could have laid Hands and ransomed many of the Kings and *Cassique* of the Country, and have had a reasonable Proportion of Gold for their Redemption; but I have chosen rather to bear the Burden of Poverty, than Reproach, and rather to endure a second Travel, and the Chances thereof, than to have defaced an Enterprize of so great Assurance, until I knew whether it pleased God to put a Disposition in her princely and royal Heart, either to follow or foreflow the same. I will therefore leave it to his Ordinance that hath only Power in all Things, and do humbly pray that your Honours will excuse such Errors as, without the Defence of Art, over-run in every Part the following Discourse, in which I have neither studied Phrase, Form, nor Fashion; and that you will be pleased to esteem me as your own (though over dearly bought) and I shall ever remain ready to do you all Honour and Service.

W. R.



T O T H E

R E A D E R.

BECAUSE there have been divers Opinions conceived of the gold Ore brought from *Guiana*, and for that an Alderman of *London*, and an Officer of her Majesty's Mint, hath given out that the same is of no Price, I have thought good by the Addition of these Lines to give Answer as well to the said malicious Slander, as to other Objections. It is true that while we abode at the Island of *Trinidado*, I was informed by an *Indian*, that not far from the Port where we anchored, there were found certain mineral Stones which they esteemed to be Gold, and were thereunto persuaded the rather, for that they had seen both *English* and *Frenchmen* gather and embark some Quantities thereof. Upon this Likelihood I sent forty Men, and gave Order that each one should bring a Stone of that Mine, to make Trial of the Goodness ; which being performed, I assured them, at their return, that the same was *Marcasite*, and of no Riches or Value : Notwithstanding divers, trusting more to their own Sense than to my Opinion, kept of the said *Marcasite*, and have tried thereof, since my Return, in divers Places. In *Guiana* itself I never saw *Marcasite*, but all the Rocks, Mountains, all Stones in the Plains, in Woods, and by the Rivers Sides, are, in Effect, thorough Shining, and appear marvellous rich ; which being tried to be no *Marcasite*, are the true Signs of rich Minerals, but are no other than *El madre del oro* (as the

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Spaniards term them) which is the Mother of Gold, or as it is said by others, the Scum of Gold : Of divers Sorts of these many of my Company brought also into *England*, every one taking the fairest for the best, which is not general. For mine own Part, I did not countermand any Man's Desire, or Opinion ; and I could have afforded them little if I should have denied them the pleasing of their own Fancies therein ; but I was resolved that Gold must be found, either in Grains separate from the Stone (as it is in most of all the Rivers in *Guiana*) or else in a Kind of hard Stone, which we call the white Sparr, of which I saw divers Hills, and in fundry Places, but had neither Time, nor Men, nor Instruments fit to labour. Near unto one of the Rivers I found of the said white Sparr, or Flint, a very great Lidge, or Bank, which I endeavoured to break by all the Means I could, because there appeared on the Outside some small Grains of Gold ; but finding no Means to work the same upon the upper Part, seeking the Sides and Circuit of the said Rock, I found a Clift in the same, from whence with Daggers, and with the Head of an Ax, we got out some small Quantity thereof, of which Kind of white Stone (wherein Gold is engendered) we saw divers Hills and Rocks in every Part of *Guiana*, wherein we travelled. Of this there hath been made many Trials ; and in *London* it was first assayed by Master *Westwood*, a Refiner dwelling in *Wood-street*, and it held after the Rate of 12000 or 13000 Pounds a Ton. Another Sort was afterward tried by Master *Bulmar* and Master *Dimoke* Assay-master, and it held after the Rate of 23000 Pounds a Ton. There was some of it again tried by Master *Palmer* Comptroller of the Mint, and Master *Dimoke* in *Goldsmith's Hall*, and it held after the Rate of 26900 Pounds a Ton. There was also at the same Time, and by the same Persons, a Trial made of the Dust of the said Mine, which held eight Pounds six Ounces Weight of Gold in the Hundred ; there was likewise,

at the same time, a Trial made of an Image of Copper made in *Guiana*, which held a third Part Gold, besides divers Trials made in the Country, and by others in *London*. But because there came of Ill with the Good, and belike the said Alderman was not presented with the best, it hath pleased him therefore to scandal all the rest, and to deface the Enterprize as much as in him lieth. It hath also been concluded by divers, that if there had been any such Ore in *Guiana*, and the same discovered, that I would have brought home a greater Quantity thereof. First, I was not bound to satisfy any Man of the Quantity, but such only as adventured; if any Store had been returned thereof; but it is very true, that had all their Mountains been of massy Gold, it was impossible for us to have made any longer Stay to have wrought the same: And whosoever hath seen with what strength of Stone the best Gold Ore is environned, he will not think it easy to be had out in Heaps, and especially by us, who had neither Men, Instruments, nor Time (as it is said before) to perform the same. There were on this Discovery no less than one hundred Persons, who can all witness, that when we pass'd any Branch of the River to view the Land within, and staid from our Boats but six Hours, we were driven to wade to the Eyes at our Return; and if we attempted the same the Day following, it was impossible either to ford it, or to swim it, both by reason of the Swiftnes, and also for that the Borders were so pestered with fast Woods, as neither Boat nor Man could find Place, either to land or to embark; for in *June, July, August, and September*, it is impossible to navigate any of those Rivers, for such is the Fury of the Current, and there are so many Trees and Woods overflown, as if any Boat but touch upon any Tree or Stake, it is impossible to save any one Person therein: And ere we departed the Land it ran with that Swiftnes, as we drove down, most commonly against the Wind, little less than one hundred Miles a Day. Besides, our Vessels were no other than Wherries, one little Barge, a small Cock-

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boat,

boat, and a bad Galliot, which we framed in haste for that Purpose at *Trinidado*, and those little Boats had nine or ten Men apiece, with all their Victuals and Arms. It is further true, that we were about four hundred Miles from our Ships, and had been a Month from them, which also we left weakly man'd in an open Road, and had promised our Return in fifteen Days. Others have devised, that the same Ore was had from *Barbary*, and that we carried it with us into *Guiana*: Surely the Singularity of that Device I do not well comprehend; for mine own Part, I am not so much in Love with these long Voyages, as to devise thereby to cozen myself, to lie hard, to fare worse, to be subjected to Perils, to Diseases, to ill Savours, to be parched and withered, and withal to sustain the Care and Labour of such an Enterprize, except the same had more Comfort than the fetching of *Marcasite* in *Guiana*, or buying of Gold Ore in *Barbary*. But I hope the better Sort will judge me by themselves, and that the Way of Deceit is not the Way of Honour or good Opinion: I have herein consumed much Time, and many Crowns, and I had no other Respect or Desire than to serve her Majesty and my Country thereby. If the *Spanish* Nation had been of like Belief to these Detractors, we should little have feared or doubted their Attempts, wherewith we are now daily threatened. But if we now consider of the Actions both of *Charles* the Vth who had the Maidenhead of *Peru*, and the abundant Treasures of *Atabalipa*, together with the Affairs of the *Spanish* King now living, what Territories he hath purchased, what he hath added to the Acts of his Predecessors, how many Kingdoms he hath endangered, how many Armies, Garrisons, and Navies he hath and doth maintain, the great Losses which he hath repaired, as in 88 above one hundred Sail of great Ships, with their Artillery, and that no Year is less unfortunate, but that many Vessels, Treasures, and People are devoured; and yet, notwithstanding, he beginneth again, like a Storm,

Storm, to threaten Shipwreck to us all ; we shall find that these Abilities rise not from the Trades of Sacks and *Sevil* Oranges, nor from ought else that either *Spain*, *Portugal*, or any of his other Provinces produce : It is his *Indian* Gold that endangereth and disturbeth all the Nations of *Europe*, it purchaseth Intelligence, creepeth into Councils, and setteth bound Loyalty at Liberty in the greatest Monarchies of *Europe*. If the *Spanish* King can keep us from foreign Enterprises, and from the Impeachment of his Trades, either by Offer of Invasion, or by besieging us in *Britain*, *Ireland*, or elsewhere, he hath then brought the Work of our Peril in great forwardness. Those Princes which abound in Treasure have great Advantages over the rest, if they once constrain them to a defensive War, where they are driven once a Year, or oftener, to cast Lots for their own Garments, and from such shall all Trades and Intercourse be taken away, to the general Loss and Impoverishment of the Kingdom, and Commonweal so reduced. Besides, when Men are constrained to fight, it hath not the same Hope as when they are press'd and encouraged by the Desire of Spoil and Riches. Farther, it is to be doubted how those that in Time of Victory seem to affect their neighbouring Nations, will remain after the first View of Misfortunes, or ill Success ; to trust also to the Doubtfulness of a Battle, is but a fearful and uncertain Adventure, seeing therein Fortune is as likely to prevail as Virtue. It shall not be necessary to allege all that might be said, and therefore I will thus conclude, that whatsoever Kingdom shall be enforced to defend itself, may be compared to a Body dangerously diseased, which for a Season may be preserved with vulgar Medicines, but in a short Time, and by little and little, the same must needs fall to the Ground, and be dissolved. I have therefore laboured all my Life, both according to my small Power, and Persuasion, to advance all those Attempts, that might either promise Return of Profit to ourselves, or

at least be a Let or Impeachment to the quiet Course and plentiful Trades of the *Spanish* Nation, who in my weak Judgment, by such a War were as easily endangered and brought from his Powerfulness, as any Prince in *Europe*, if it be considered from how many Kingdoms and Nations his Revenues are gathered, and those so weak in their own Beings, and so far severed from mutual Succour. But because such a Preparation and Resolution is not to be hoped for in haste, and that the Time which our Enemies embrace cannot be had again to Advantage, I will hope that these Provinces, and that Empire now by me discovered, shall suffice to enable her Majesty, and the whole Kingdom, with no less Quantities of Treasure than the King of *Spain* hath in all the *Indies*, East and West, which he possesseth ; which if the same be considered and followed, ere the *Spaniards* reinforce the same, and if her Majesty will undertake it, I will be contented to lose her Highness's Favour and good Opinion for ever, and my Life withal, if the same be not found rather to exceed, than to equal whatsoever is in this Discourse promised or declared. I will now refer the Reader to the following Discourse, with the Hope that the perilous and chargeable Labours and Endeavours of such as thereby seek the Profit and Honour of her Majesty and the *English* Nation, shall, by Men of Quality and Virtue, receive such Construction, and good Acceptance, as themselves would look to be rewarded withal in the like.

W. R.

THE
DISCOVERY
OF
GUIANA.

ON *Thursday* the sixth of *February*, in the Year 1595. we departed *England*, and the *Sunday* following had Sight of the North Cape of *Spain*, the Wind for the most Part continuing prosperous: We passed in Sight of the *Burlings*, and the Rock, and so onwards for the *Canaries*, and fell in with *Fuerte ventura* the seventeenth of the same Month, where we spent two or three Days, and relieved our Companies with some fresh Meat. From thence we coasted by the *Gran Canaria*, and so to *Teneriffe*, and stayed there for the *Lyon's Whelp*, your Lordship's Ship, and for Captain *Amys Preston*, and the rest: But when after seven or eight Days we found them not, we departed and directed our Course for *Trinidado* with mine own Ship, and a small Bark of Captain *Cross's* only (for we had before lost Sight of a small Gallego on the Coast of *Spain*, which came with us from *Plymouth*) we arrived at *Trinidado* the twenty-second of *March*, casting Anchor at Point *Curiapan*, which the *Spaniards* call *Punto de Gallo*, which is situate in eight Degrees, or thereabouts: We abode there four or five Days, and in all that Time we came not to the speech of any *Indian* or *Spaniard*. On the

Coast we saw a Fire, as we sailed from the point *Carao* towards *Curiapan*, but for Fear of the *Spaniards*, none durst come to speak with us. I myself coasted it in my Barge close aboard the Shore, and landed in every Cove, the better to know the Island, while the Ships kept the Channel. From *Curiapan*, after a few Days, we turned up North-east to recover that Place which the *Spaniards* call *Puerto de los Hispanioles*, and the Inhabitants *Conquerabia*, and as before (re-victualling my Barge) I left the Ships and kept by the Shore, the better to come to Speech with some of the Inhabitants, and also to understand the Rivers, watering Places, and Ports of the Island, which (as it is rudely done) my Purpose is to send your Lordship after a few Days. From *Curiapan* I came to a Port and Seat of *Indians* called *Parico*, where we found a fresh-water River, but saw no People. From thence I rowed to another Port, called by the Naturals *Piche*, and by the *Spaniards* *Tierra de Brea*. In the Way between both were divers little Brooks of fresh Water, and one salt River that had Store of Oysters upon the Branches of the Trees, and were very salt and well tasted: All their Oysters grow upon those Boughs and Sprays, and not on the Ground; the like is commonly seen in the *West-Indies*, and elsewhere. This Tree is described by *Andrew Thevet* in his *French Antartic*, and the Form figured in his Book as a Plant very strange, and by *Pliny* in his twelfth Book of his Natural History; but in this Island, as also in *Guiana*, there are very many of them.

At this Point called *Tierra de Brea*, or *Piche*, there is that Abundance of Stone Pitch, that all the Ships of the World may be therewith laden from thence, and we made Trial of it in trimming our Ships to be most excellent good, and melteth not with the Sun as the Pitch of *Norway*, and therefore for Ships trading to the South Parts very profitable. From thence we went to the Mountain Foot called *Annaperima*, and so passing the River *Carone*, on which the *Spanish* City was seated,

we

we met with our Ships at *Puerto de los Hispanioles*, or *Conquerabia*.

This Island of *Trinidad* hath the Form of a Sheep-hook, and is but narrow, the North Part is very mountainous, the Soil is very excellent, and will bear Sugar, Ginger, or any other Commodity that the *Indies* yield. It hath Store of Deer, wild Porks, Fruits, Fish and Fowl. It hath also for Bread sufficient *Mais*, *Cassavi*, and of those Roots and Fruits which are common every where in the *West-Indies*. It hath divers Beasts which the *Indies* have not. The *Spaniards* confessed that they found Grains of Gold in some of the Rivers, but they having a Purpose to enter *Guiana* (the Magazine of all rich Metals) cared not to spend Time in the Search thereof any farther. This Island is called by the People thereof *Cairi*, and in it are divers Nations; those about *Parico* are called *Iaio*, those at *Punto Carao* are of the *Arwacas*, and between *Carao* and *Curiapan* they are called *Salvaios*, between *Carao* and *Punto Galera* are the *Nepoios*, and those about the *Spanish* City term themselves *Carinepagotos*. Of the rest of the Nations, and of other Ports and Rivers, I leave to speak here, being impertinent to my Purpose, and mean to describe them as they are situate in the particular Plot and Description of the Island, three Parts whereof I coasted with my Barge, that I might the better describe it.

Meeting with the Ships at *Puerto de los Hispanioles*, we found at the landing Place a Company of *Spaniards* who kept a Guard at the Descent, and they offering a Sign of Peace, I sent Captain *Whiddon* to speak with them, whom afterward, to my great Grief, I left buried in the said Island, after my Return from *Guiana*, being a Man most honest and valiant. The *Spaniards* seemed to be desirous to trade with us, and to enter into Terms of Peace, more for Doubt of their own Strength, than for ought else, and in the End, upon Pledge, some of them came aboard: The same Evening there

there stole aboard us, in a small Canoe, two *Indians*, the one of them being a *Cassiqui*, or Lord of People called *Cantyman*, who had the Year before been with Captain *Whiddon*, and was of his Acquaintance. By this *Cantyman* we understood what Strength the *Spaniards* had, how far it was to their City, and of *Don Antonio de Berreo* the Governor, who was said to be slain in his second Attempt of *Guiana*, but was not.

While we remained at *Puerto de los Hispanioles* some *Spaniards* came aboard us to buy Linen of the Company, and such other Things as they wanted, and also to view our Ships and Company, all which I entertained kindly, and feasted after our Manner ; by Means whereof I learned of one and another as much of the Estate of *Guiana* as I could, or as they knew, for those poor Soldiers having been many Years without Wine, a few Draughts made them merry, in which Mood they vaunted of *Guiana*, and of the Riches thereof, and all what they knew of the Ways and Passages, myself seeming to purpose nothing less than the Entrance or Discovery thereof ; but bred in them an Opinion that I was bound only for the Relief of those *English* which I had planted in *Virginia*, whereof the Bruit was come among them, which I had performed in my Return, if Extremity of Weather had not forced me from the said Coast.

I found Occasions of staying in this Place for two Causes ; the one was to be revenged of *Berre*, who the Year before betrayed eight of Captain *Whiddon's* Men, and took them while he departed from them to seek the *E. Bonaventure*, which arrived at *Trinidad* the Day before from the *East-Indies* ; in whose Absence *Berre* sent a Canoe aboard the Pinnace, only with *Indians* and Dogs, inviting the Company to go with them into the Woods to kill a Deer, who, like wise Men in the Absence of their Captain, followed the *Indians* ; but were no sooner one Harquebuss Shot from the Shore, but *Berre's* Soldiers lying in Ambush had them

them all, notwithstanding that he had given his Word to Captain *Whiddon* that they should take Water and Wood safely ; the other Cause of my Stay was, for that by Discourse with the *Spaniards*, I daily learned more and more of *Guiana*, of the Rivers and Passages, and of the Enterprize of *Berreó*, by what Means or Fault he failed, and how he meant to prosecute the same.

While we thus spent the Time, I was assured by another *Cassiqui* of the North Side of the Island, that *Berreó* had sent to *Marguerita*, and to *Cumana*, for Soldiers, meaning to have given me a *Cassado* at parting, if it had been possible : For although he had given Order through all the Island, that no *Indian* should come aboard to trade with me, upon Pain of hanging or quartering (having executed two of them for the same, which I afterwards found) yet every Night there came some with most lamentable Complaints of his Cruelty ; how he had divided the Island, and given to every Soldier a Part, that he made the antient *Cassiqui*, which were Lords of the Country, to be their Slaves, that he kept them in Chains, and dropped their naked Bodies with burning Bacon, and such other Torments, which I found afterwards to be true ; for in the City, after I entered the same, there were five of the Lords or little Kings (which they call *Cassiqui* in the *West-Indies*) in one Chain, almost dead of Famine, and wasted with Torments : These are called in their own Language *Acarewana*, and now of late, since *English*, *French*, and *Spanish* are come among them, they call themselves *Capitains*, because they perceive that the chiefest of every Ship is called by that Name. Those five *Capitains* in the Chain were called *Wannawanare*, *Carroa-ori*, *Maquarima*, *Tarroopanama*, and *Aterima*. So as both to be revenged of the former Wrong, as also considering that to enter *Guiana* by small Boats, to depart four or five hundred Miles from my Ships, and to leave a Garrison in my Back interess'd in the same Enterprize, who also daily expected Supplies out of *Spain*,

Spain, I should have savoured very much of the *Afs*; and therefore, taking a Time of most Advantage, I set upon the *Corp du Guard* in the Evening, and having put them to the Sword, sent Captain *Calfield* onward with sixty Soldiers, and myself followed with forty more, and so took their new City, which they called *S. Joseph*, by Break of Day: They abode not any Fight after a few Shot, and all being dismissed but only *Berreio* and his Companion, I brought them with me aboard, and at the Instance of the *Indians*, I set their new City of *S. Joseph* on fire.

The same Day arrived Captain *George Gifford* with your Lordship's Ship, and Captain *Keymis*, whom I lost on the Coast of *Spain*, with the *Gallego*, and in them divers Gentlemen and others, which to our little Army was a great Comfort and Supply.

We then hastened away towards our purposed Discovery; and first I called all the Captains of the Island together, that were Enemies to the *Spaniards*, for there were some which *Berreio* had brought out of other Countries, and planted there to eat out and waste those that were natural of the Place, and by my *Indian* Interpreter, which I carried out of *England*, I made them understand that I was the Servant of a Queen, who was the great *Cassiqui* of the North, and a Virgin, and had more *Cassiqui* under her than there were Trees in their Island; that she was an Enemy to the *Castellans*, in respect of their Tyranny and Oppression, and that she delivered all such Nations about her as were by them oppressed; and having freed all the Coast of the northern World from their Servitude, had sent me to free them also, and withal to defend the Country of *Guiana* from their Invasion and Conquest. I shewed them her Majesty's Picture, which they so admired and honoured, as it had been easy to have brought them idolatrous thereof.

The like, and a more large Discourse I made to the rest of the Nations, both in my passing to *Guiana*, and

to those of the Borders ; so as in that Part of the World her Majesty is very famous and admirable, whom they now call *Ezrabeta Cassipuna Aquerewana*, which is as much as, *Elizabeth*, the great Princess, or greatest Commander. This done, we left *Puerto de los Hispanioles*, and returned to *Curiapan*, and having *Berreio* my Prisoner, I gathered from him as much of *Guiana* as he knew.

This *Berreio* is a Gentleman well descended, and had long served the *Spanish* King in *Milan*, *Naples*, the *Low-Countries*, and elsewhere, very valiant and liberal, and a Gentleman of great Assuredness, and of a great Heart. I used him according to his Estate and Worth in all Things I could, according to the small Means I had.

I sent Captain *Whiddon* the Year before to get what Knowledge he could of *Guiana*, and the End of my Journey, at this Time, was to discover and enter the same ; but my Intelligence was far from Truth, for the Country is situate above six hundred *English* Miles further from the Sea than I was made believe it had been, which afterwards understanding to be true by *Berreio*, I kept it from the Knowledge of my Company, who else would never have been brought to attempt the same ; of which six hundred Miles I passed four hundred, leaving my Ships so far from me at Anchor in the Sea, which was more of Desire to perform that Discovery, than of Reason, especially having such poor and weak Vessels to transport ourselves in ; for in the Bottom of an old *Gallego*, which I caused to be fashioned like a Galley, and in one Barge, two Wherries, and a Ship-boat of the *Lyon's Whelp*, we carried one hundred Persons, and their Victuals for a Month in the same, being all driven to lie in the Rain and Weather, in the open Air, in the burning Sun, and upon the hard Boards, and to dress our Meat, and to carry all manner of Furniture in them, wherewith they were so pestered and unsavory, that what with Victuals,
being

being most Fish, with the wet Cloaths of so many Men thrust together, and the Heat of the Sun, I will undertake there was never any Prison in *England* that could be found more unfavory and loathsome, especially to myself, who had for many Years before been dieted and cared for in Sort far differing.

If Captain *Preston* had not been persuaded that he should have come too late to *Trinidad* to have found us there (for the Month was expired which I promised to tarry for him there, ere he could recover the Coast of *Spain*) but that it had pleased God he might have joined with us, and that we had entered the Country but some ten Days sooner, ere the Rivers were overflowed, we had adventured either to have gone to the great City of *Manoa*, or at least taken so many of the other Cities and Towns nearer at hand, as would have made a royal Return: But it pleased not God so much to favour me at this Time. If it shall be my Lot to prosecute the same, I shall willingly spend my Life therein; and if any else shall be enabled thereunto, and conquer the same, I assure him thus much, he shall perform more than ever was done in *Mexico* by *Cortes*, or in *Peru* by *Pacaro*, whereof the one conquered the Empire of *Mutezuma*, the other of *Guascar* and *Atabalipa*, and whatsoever Prince shall possess it, that Prince shall be Lord of more Gold, and of a more beautiful Empire, and of more Cities and People, than either the King of *Spain*, or the Great *Turk*.

But because there may arise many Doubts, and how this Empire of *Guiana* is become so populous, and adorned with so many great Cities, Towns, Temples, and Treasures, I thought good to make it known, that the Emperor now reigning is descended from those magnificent Princes of *Peru*, of whose large Territories, of whose Policies, Conquests, Edifices, and Riches, *Pedro de Cieza*, *Francisco Lopez*, and others, have written large Discourses; for when *Francisco Pacaro*, *Diego Almagro*, and others, conquered the said Empire of *Peru*,

Peru, and had put to Death *Atabalipa*, Son to *Guaynacapa*, which *Atabalipa* had formerly caused his eldest Brother *Guascar* to be slain, one of the younger Sons of *Guaynacapa* fled out of *Peru*, and took with him many thousands of those Soldiers of the Empire called *Oreiones*, and with those, and many others which followed him, he vanquished all that Tract and Valley of *America* which is situate between the great Rivers of *Amazones* and *Baraquan*, otherwise called *Oroonoko* and *Maranion*.

The Empire of *Guiana* is directly East from *Peru* towards the Sea, and lieth under the Equinoctial Line, and it hath more abundance of Gold than any Part of *Peru*, and as many, or more great Cities than ever *Peru* had when it flourished most. It is governed by the same Laws, and the Emperor and People observe the same Religion, and the same Form and Policies in Government as was used in *Peru*, not differing in any Part; and as I have been assured by such of the *Spaniards* as have seen *Manoa*, the Imperial City of *Guiana*, which the *Spaniards* call *el Dorado*, that for the Greatness, the Riches, and for the excellent Seat, it far exceedeth any of the World, at least of so much of the World as is known to the *Spanish* Nation. It is founded upon a Lake of Salt-water of two hundred Leagues long, like unto *Mare Caspium*; and if we compare it to that of *Peru*, and but read the Report of *Francisco Lopez*, and others, it will seem more than credible; and because we may judge of the one by the other, I thought good to insert Part of the 120th Chapter of *Lopez*, in his general History of the *Indies*, wherein he describeth the Court and Magnificence of *Guaynacapa*, Ancestor to the Emperor of *Guiana*, whose very Words are these. *Todo el servicio de su casa, mesa, y cozina era de oro, y de plata, y quando menos de plata, y cobre por mas rezio. Tenia en su recamara estatuas hueltas de oro que parecian gigantes, y las figuras al propio, y tamano de quantos animales, aves, arboles, y yervas produze la tierra, y de quantos peces cria la mar y aguas de sus reynos.*

Tenia

Tenia assi mesmo fogás, costales, cestas, y troxes de oro y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que pareciesen lenna raiada para quemar. En fin, no avia cosa en su tierra, que no la tuviese de oro contrabecha; y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas un vergel en una Isla cerca de la Puna, donde se yvan a bolgar, quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores, yarboles de oro y plata, invencion y grandezza hasta entonces nunca vista. Allende de todo esto tenia infinitissima cantidad de plata, y oro por labrar en el Cuzco, que se perdio por la muerte de Guascar, ca los Indios lo escondieron, viendo que los Espanioles se lo tomauan, y embiauan a Espania. That is, All the Vessels of his House, Table, and Kitchen, were of Gold and Silver, and the meanest of Silver and Copper, for Strength and Hardness of the Metal. He had in his Wardrobe hollow Statues of Gold which seemed Giants, and the Figures in Proportion and Bigness of all the Beasts, Birds, Trees, and Herbs, that the Earth bringeth forth; and of all the Fishes that the Sea or Waters of his Kingdom breedeth. He had also Ropes, Budgets, Chests and Troughs of Gold and Silver, Heaps of Billets of Gold that seemed Wood marked out to burn. Finally, there was nothing in his Country whereof he had not the Counterfeit in Gold. Yea, and they say, the *Ingas* had a Garden of Pleasure in an Island near *Puna*, where they went to recreate themselves when they would take the Air of the Sea, which had all Kind of Garden Herbs, Flowers and Trees, of Gold and Silver, an Invention, and Magnificence, till then never seen. Besides all this, he had an infinite Quantity of Silver and Gold unwrought in *Cuzco*, which was lost by the Death of *Guascar*; for the *Indians* hid it, seeing that the *Spaniards* took it and sent it into *Spain*.

And in the 117th Chapter, *Francisco Picaro* caused the Gold and Silver of *Atabalipa* to be weighed, after he had taken it, which *Lopez* setteth down in these Words following.

Hallaron

Hallaron cinquenta y dos mil marcos de buena plata, y un millon y trezientos y veinte y seys mil, y quinientos pesos de oro. Which is ; They found fifty-two thousand Marks of good Silver, and one Million, three hundred twenty and six thousand and five hundred Pesoes of Gold.

Now although these Reports may seem strange, yet if we consider the many Millions which are daily brought out of *Peru* into *Spain*, we may easily believe the same, for we find that by the abundant Treasure of that Country, the *Spanish* King vexeth all the Princes of *Europe*, and is become in a few Years, from a poor King of *Castile*, the greatest Monarch of this Part of the World, and likely every Day to increase, if other Princes foreflow the good Occasion offered, and suffer him to add this Empire to the rest, which by far exceedeth all the rest ; if his Gold now endanger us, he will then be unresistable. Such of the *Spaniards* as afterward endeavoured the Conquest thereof (whereof there have been many, as shall be declared hereafter) thought that this *Inga* (of whom this Emperor now living is descended) took his Way by the River of *Amazones*, by that Branch which is called *Papamene*, for by that Way followed *Oreliano*, (by the Commandment of the Marquis *Pacarro* in the Year 1542) whose Name the River also beareth this Day, which is also by others called *Maragnon*, although *Andrew Thevet* doth affirm, that between *Maragnon* and *Amazones* there are one hundred and twenty Leagues ; but sure it is, that those Rivers have one Head and Beginning, and that *Maragnon*, which *Thevet* describeth, is but a Branch of *Amazones*, or *Oreliano*, of which I will speak more in another Place. It was also attempted by *Diego Ordace*, but whether before *Oreliano*, or after, I know not ; but it is now little less than seventy Years since that *Ordace*, a Knight of the Order of Saint *Jago*, attempted the same, and it was in the Year 1542. that *Oreliano* discovered the River of *Amazones* ; but the first that ever

saw *Manoa* was *Johannes Martines* Master of the Munition to *Ordace*. At a Port called *Morequito* in *Guiana* there lyeth, at this Day, a great Anchor of *Ordace's* Ship ; and this Port is some three hundred Miles within the Land, upon the great River of *Oroonoko*.

I rested at this Port four Days, twenty Days after I left the Ships at *Curiapan*. The Relation of this *Martines* (who was the first that discovered *Manoa*) his Success, and End, is to be seen in the Chauncery of *Saint Juan de Puerto Rico*, whereof *Berreio* had a Copy, which appeared to be the greatest Encouragement, as well to *Berreio* as to others that formerly attempted the Discovery and Conquest. *Oreliano*, after he failed of the Discovery of *Guiana* by the said River of *Amazones*, passed into *Spain*, and there obtained a Patent of the King for the Invasion and Conquest, but died by Sea about the Islands, and his Fleet being severed by Tempest, the Action for that Time proceeded not. *Diego Ordace* followed the Enterprize, and departed *Spain* with six hundred Soldiers, and thirty Horse, who arriving on the Coast of *Guiana* was slain in a Mutiny, with the most part of such as favoured him, as also of the rebellious Part ; insomuch as his Ships perished, and few or none returned, neither was it certainly known what became of the said *Ordace*, until *Berreio* found the Anchor of his Ship in the River of *Oroonoko* ; but it was supposed, and so it is written by *Lopez*, that he perished on the Seas, and of other Writers diversly conceived and reported. And hereof it came that *Martines* entered so far within the Land, and arrived at that City of *Inga* the Emperor ; for it chanced that while *Ordace* with his Army rested at the Port of *Morequito* (who was either the first or second that attempted *Guiana*) by some Negligence, the whole Store of Powder provided for the Service was set on fire, and *Martines* having the chief Charge was condemned by the General *Ordace* to be executed forthwith. *Martines* being much favoured by the Soldiers had all the Means possible procured

cured for his Life, but it could not be obtained in other Sort than this ; That he should be set into a Canoe alone without any Victuals, only with his Arms, and so turned loose into the great River. But it pleased God that the Canoe was carried down the Stream, and that certain of the *Guianians* met it the same Evening, and having not at any Time seen any Christian, nor any Man of that Colour, they carried *Martines* into the Land to be wondered at, and so from Town to Town until he came to the great City of *Manoa*, the Seat and Residence of *Inga* the Emperor. The Emperor, after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Christian (for it was not long before that his Brethren, *Guaspar* and *Atabalipa*, were vanquished by the *Spaniards* in *Peru*) and caused him to be lodged in his Palace, and well entertained. He lived seven Months in *Manoa*, but not suffered to wander into the Country any where ; he was also brought thither all the Way blindfold, led by the *Indians*, until he came to the Entrance of *Manoa* itself, and was fourteen or fifteen Days in the Passage. He avowed at his Death, that he entered the City at Noon, and then they uncovered his Face, and that he travelled all that Day, till Night, through the City, and the next Day, from Sun-rising to Sun-setting, ere he came to the Palace of *Inga*. After that *Martines* had lived seven Months in *Manoa*, and began to understand the Language of the Country, *Inga* asked him whether he desired to return into his own Country, or would willingly abide with him ; but *Martines*, not desirous to stay, obtained the Favour of *Inga* to depart, with whom he sent divers *Guianians* to conduct him to the River of *Oroonoko*, all loaden with as much Gold as they could carry, which he gave to *Martines* at his Departure ; but when he was arrived near the River's Side, the Borderers, which are called *Oroonokoponi*, robbed him and his *Guianians* of all the Treasure (the Borderers being at that Time at war with *Inga*, and not conquered) save only of two great Botles of Gords,

which were filled with Beads of Gold curiously wrought, which those *Oroonokoponi* thought had been no other Thing than his Drink, or Meat, or Grain for Food, with which *Martines* had Liberty to pass; and so in Canoes he fell down by the River of *Oroonoko* to *Trinidad*, and from thence to *Marguerita*, and so to *Saint Juan de Puerto Rico*, where remaining a long Time for a Passage into *Spain* he died. In the Time of his extreme Sickness, and when he was without Hope of Life, receiving the Sacrament at the Hands of his Confessor, he delivered these Things, with the Relation of his Travels, and also called for his *Calabaza*, or Gords of the Gold Beads, which he gave to the Church and Friars to be prayed for. This *Martines* was he that christened the City of *Manoa* by the Name of *El Dorado*, and, as *Berreio* informed me, upon this Occasion. Those *Guianians* and also the Borderers, and all others in that Tract which I have seen, are marvellous great Drunkards, in which Vice I think no Nation can compare with them; and at the Times of their solemn Feasts when the Emperor carouseth with his Captains, Tributaries, and Governors, the Manner is thus. All those that pledge him are first stripped naked, and their Bodies anointed all over with a Kind of white *Balsamum*, by them called *Curcai*, of which there is great Plenty, and yet very dear amongst them, and it is of all other the most precious, whereof we have had good Experience; when they are anointed all over, certain Servants of the Emperor having prepared Gold made into fine Powder blow it through hollow Canes upon their naked Bodies, until they be all shining from the Foot to the Head; and in this Sort they sit drinking by Twenties and Hundreds, and continue in Drunkenness sometimes six or seven Days together: The same is also confirmed by a Letter written into *Spain*, which was intercepted, which Master *Robert Dudley* told me he had seen. Upon this Sight, and for the Abundance of Gold which he saw in the City, the Images of Gold in their Temples, the Plates, Armours,

Armours, and Shields of Gold which they use in the Wars, he called it *El Dorado*. After *Oreliano*, who was employed by *Pacaro*, afterwards *Marquis Pacaro*, Conqueror and Governor of *Peru*, and the Death of *Ordace* and *Martines*, one *Pedro de Osua*, a Knight of *Navarre* attempted *Guiana*, taking his Way from *Peru*, and built his Brigantines upon a River called *Oia*, which riseth to the Southward of *Quito*, and is very great: This River falleth into *Amazones*, by which *Osua* with his Companies descended, and came out of that Province which is called *Mutylones*: And it seemeth to me, that this Empire is reserved for her Majesty and the *English* Nation, by reason of the hard Success which all these and other *Spaniards* found in attempting the same, whereof I will speak briefly, though impertinent, in some Sort, to my Purpose. This *Pedro de Osua* had among his Troops a *Biscayan* called *Agiri*, a Man meanly born, and bare no other Office than a Serjeant, or *Alferez*; but after certain Months, when the Soldiers were grieved with Travels, and consumed with Famine, and that no Entrance could be found by the Branches or Body of *Amazones*, this *Agiri* raised a Mutiny, of which he made himself the Head, and so prevailed, as he put *Osua* to the Sword, and all his Followers, taking on him the whole Charge and Commandment, with a Purpose not only to make himself Emperor of *Guiana*, but also of *Peru*, and of all that Side of the *West-Indies*. He had of his Party seven hundred Soldiers, and of those many promised to draw in other Captains and Companies to deliver up Towns and Forts in *Peru*; but neither finding by the said River any Passage into *Guiana*, nor any Possibility to return towards *Peru* by the same *Amazones*, by reason that the Descent of the River made so great a Current, he was enforced to disembogue at the Mouth of the said *Amazones*, which cannot be less than a thousand Leagues from the Place where they embarked: From thence he coasted the Land till he arrived at *Marguerita*, to the

North of *Mompatar*, which is at this Day called *Puerto de Tyranno*, for that he there slew *Don Juan de Villa Andreda*, Governor of *Marguerita*, who was Father to *Don Juan Sermiento*, Governor of *Marguerita* when Sir *John Burgh* landed there, and attempted the Island. *Agiri* put to the Sword all others in the Island that refused to be of his Party, and took with him certain *Ceremones*, and other desperate Companions. From thence he went to *Cumana*, and there slew the Governor, and dealt in all as at *Marguerita*: He spoiled all the Coast of *Caracas*, and the Province of *Vensuello*, and of *Rio de Hache*, and, as I remember, it was the same Year that Sir *John Hawkins* sailed to *Saint Juan de Lua*, in the *Jesus of Lubeck*; for himself told me, that he met with such a one upon the Coast that rebelled, and had sailed down all the River of *Amazones*. *Agiri*, from hence, landed about *Sancta Marta*, and sacked it also, putting to Death so many as refused to be his Followers, purposing to invade *Nuevo Reygno de Granada*, and to sack *Pampelone*, *Merida*, *Lagrita*, *Tuvia*, and the rest of the Cities of *Nuevo Reygno*, and from thence again to enter *Peru*; but in a Fight in the said *Nuevo Reygno* he was overthrown, and finding no Way to escape, he first put to the Sword his own Children, foretelling them, that they should not live to be defamed, or upbraided by the *Spaniards* after his Death, who would have termed them the Children of a Traitor or Tyrant, and that since he could not make them Princes, he would yet deliver them from Shame and Reproach. These were the Ends and Tragedies of *Oreliano*, *Ordace*, *Osua*, *Martines*, and *Agiri*.

After these followed *Jeronimo Ortal de Saragosa* with one hundred and thirty Soldiers, who failing his Entrance by Sea was cast with the Current on the Coast of *Paria*, and peopled about *S. Miguel de Neueri*. It was then attempted by *Don Pedro de Sylva*, a Portuguese of the Family of *Rigomes de Sylva*, and by the Favour which *Rigomes* had with the King, he was set out; but
he

he also shot wide of the Mark ; for being departed from *Spain* with his Fleet, he entered by *Maragnon* or *Amazones*, where, by the Nations of the River, and by the *Amazones*, he was utterly overthrown, and himself and all his Army defeated, only seven escaped, and of those but two returned.

After him came *Pedro Hernandez de Serpa*, and landed at *Cumana* in the *West-Indies*, taking his Journey by Land towards *Oroonoko*, which may be some hundred and twenty Leagues ; but ere he came to the Borders of the said River, he was set upon by a Nation of *Indians* called *Wikiri*, and overthrown in such Sort, that of three hundred Soldiers, Horsemen, many *Indians* and *Negroes*, there returned but eighteen : Others affirm that he was defeated in the very Entrance of *Guiana*, at the first civil Town of the Empire, called *Macureguarai*. Captain *Preston* in taking *S. Jago de Leon* (which was by him and his Companies very resolutely performed, being a great Town, and far within the Land) held a Gentleman Prisoner, who died in his Ship, that was one of the Company of *Hernandez de Serpa*, and saved among those that escaped, who witnessed what Opinion is held among the *Spaniards* thereabouts of the great Riches of *Guiana*, and *El Dorado* the City of *Inga*. Another *Spaniard* was brought aboard me by Captain *Preston*, who told me in the the Hearing of himself and divers other Gentlemen, that he met with *Berreos*'s Camp-master at *Caracas*, when he came from the Borders of *Guiana*, and that he saw with him forty of most pure Plates of Gold curiously wrought, and Swords of *Guiana* decked and inlaid with Gold, Feathers garnished with Gold, and divers Rarities which he carried to the *Spanish* King.

After *Hernandez de Serpa*, it was undertaken by the *Adelantado*, *Don Gonzales Cemenes de Casada*, who was one of the chiefest in the Conquest of *Nuevo Reyno*, whose Daughter and Heir *Don Antonio de Berreo* married. *Gonzales* fought the Passage also by the River
called

called *Papamene*, which riseth by *Quito* in *Peru*, and runneth South-east one hundred Leagues, and then falleth into *Amazones*, but he also failing the Entrance, returned with the Loss of much Labour and Cost: I took one Captain *George*, a *Spaniard*, that followed *Gonzales* in this Enterprife. *Gonzales* gave his Daughter to *Berreio*, taking his Oath and Honour to follow the Enterprife to the last of his Substance and Life, who since, as he hath sworn to me, hath spent three hundred thousand Ducats in the same, and yet never could enter so far into the Land as myself, with that poor Troop, or rather a handful of Men, being in all about one hundred, Gentlemen, Soldiers, Rowers, Boat-keepers, Boys, and of all Sorts; neither could any of the fore-passed Undertakers, nor *Berreio* himself, discover the Country, till now lately by Conference with an ancient King called *Carapana* he got the true Light thereof; for *Berreio* came above fifteen hundred Miles ere he understood ought, or could find any Passage or Entrance into any Part thereof, yet he had Experience of all these fore-named, and divers others, and was persuaded of their Errors and Mistakings. *Berreio* sought it by the River *Cassanar*, which falleth into a great River called *Pato*, *Pato* falleth into *Meta*, and *Meta* into *Baraquan*, which is also called *Oroonoko*.

He took his Journey from *Nuevo Reyno de Granada* where he dwelt, having the Inheritance of *Gonzales Cemenes* in those Parts; he was followed with seven hundred Horse, he drove with him a thousand Head of Cattle, he had also many Women, *Indians*, and Slaves. How all these Rivers cross and encounter, how the Country lieth and is bordered, the Passage of *Cemenes*, and of *Berreio*, mine own Discovery, and the Way that I entered, with all the rest of the Nations and Rivers, your Lordship shall receive in a large Chart, or Map, which I have not yet finished, and which I shall most humbly pray your Lordship to secret, and not to suffer it to pass your own Hands; for by a Draught thereof
all

all may be prevented by other Nations: For I know it is this very Year fought by the *French*, although by the Way that they now take, I fear it not much. It was also told me ere I departed *England*, that *Villiers* the Admiral was in Preparation for the Planting of *Amazones*, to which River the *French* have made divers Voyages, and returned much Gold and other Rarities. I spake with a Captain of a *French* Ship that came from thence, his Ship riding in *Falmouth*, the same Year that my Ships came first from *Virginia*.

There was another this Year in *Helford* that also came from thence, and had been fourteen Months at an Anchor in *Amazones*, which were both very rich. Although, as I am persuaded, *Guiana* cannot be entered that Way, yet no doubt the Trade of Gold from thence passeth by Branches of Rivers into the River of *Amazones*, and so it doth on every Hand far from the Country itself; for those *Indians* of *Trinidad* have Plates of Gold from *Guiana*, and those *Canibals* of *Dominica* which dwell in the Islands by which our Ships pass yearly to the *West-Indies*, also the *Indians* of *Paria*, those *Indians* called *Tucaris*, *Chochi*, *Apotomios*, *Cumanagotos*, and all those other Nations inhabiting near about the Mountains that run from *Paria* through the Province of *Vensuello*, and in *Maracapana*, and the *Canibals* of *Guanipa*, the *Indians* called *Affarwai Coaca*, *Aiai*, and the rest (all which shall be described in my Description as they are situate) have Plates of Gold of *Guiana*. And upon the River of *Amazones*, *Thevet* writeth, that the People wear *Croissants* of Gold, for of that Form the *Guianians* most commonly make them: So as from *Dominica* to *Amazones*, which is above two hundred and fifty Leagues, all the chief *Indians* in all Parts wear of those Plates of *Guiana*. Undoubtedly those that trade with the *Amazones* return much Gold, which (as is afore said) cometh by Trade from *Guiana*, by some Branch of a River that falleth from the Country into *Amazones*; and either it is by the
River

River which passeth by the Nations called *Tisnados*, or by *Carepuna*. I made Inquiry amongst the most ancient and best travelled of the *Orenoqueponi*, and I had Knowledge of all the Rivers between *Oroonoko* and *Amazones*, and was very desirous to understand the Truth of those warlike Women, because of some it is believed, of others not : And though I digress from my Purpose, yet I will set down what hath been delivered me for Truth of those Women, and I spake with a *Casique* or Lord of the People that told me he had been in the River, and beyond it also. The Nations of these Women are on the South Side of the River in the Provinces of *Topago*, and their chiefeft Strengths and Retreats are in the Islands situate on the South Side of the Entrance, some 60 Leagues within the Mouth of the said River. The Memories of the like Women are very ancient as well in *Africa* as in *Asia* : In *Africa* those that had *Medusa* for Queen : Others in *Scythia* near the Rivers of *Tanais* and *Thermadon* : We find also that *Lampedo* and *Marthesia* were Queens of the *Amazones* : In many Histories they are verified to have been, and in divers Ages and Provinces : But they which are not far from *Guiana* do accompany with Men but once in a Year, and for the Time of one Month, which I gather by their Relation to be in *April*. At that Time all the Kings of the Borders assemble, and the Queens of the *Amazones* ; and after the Queens have chosen, the rest cast Lots for their Valentines. This one Month, they feast, dance, and drink of their Wines in Abundance, and the Moon being down, they all depart to their own Provinces. If they conceive, and be delivered of a Son, they return him to the Father ; if of a Daughter, they nourish it, and retain it, and as many as have Daughters send unto the Begetters a Present, all being desirous to increase their own Sex and Kind ; but that they cut off the right Dug of the Breast I do not find to be true. It

was

was farther told me, that if in the Wars they took any Prisoners, that they used to accompany with those also at what Time soever, but in the End for certain they put them to Death: For they are said to be very cruel and blood-thirsty, especially to such as offer to invade their Territories. These *Amazones* have likewise great Store of these Plates of Gold, which they recover by Exchange, chiefly for a Kind of green Stones, which the *Spaniards* call *Piedras Hijadas*, and we use for Spleen Stones, and for the Disease of the Stone we also esteem them: Of these I saw divers in *Guiana*, and commonly every King or *Casique* hath one, which their Wives for the most part wear, and they esteem them as great Jewels.

But to return to the Enterprize of *Berreó*, who (as I have said) departed from *Nuevo Reyno* with 700 Horse, besides the Provisions above rehearsed; he descended by the River *Cassanar*, which riseth in *Nuevo Reyno* out of the Mountains by the City of *Tuvia*, from which Mountain also springeth *Pato*, both which fall into the great River of *Meta*, and *Meta* riseth from a Mountain joining to *Pampelone* in the same *Nuevo Reyno de Granada*: These, as also *Guaire*, which issueth out of the Mountains by *Timana*, fall all into *Baraquan*, and are but of his Heads, for at their coming together, they loose their Names, and *Baraquan* farther down is also rebaptized by the Name of *Oroonoko*. On the other Side of the City and Hills of *Timana* riseth *Rio Grande*, which falleth into the Sea by *Sancta Marta*. By *Cassanar* first, and so into *Meta*, *Berreó* passed, keeping his Horsemen on the Banks, where the Country served them for to march, and where otherwise he was driven to embark them in Boats which he builded for the Purpose, and so came with the Current down the River of *Meta*, and so into *Baraquan*. After he entered that great and mighty River, he began daily to loose of his Companies both Men and Horse, for it is in many Places violently swift,

swift, and hath forcible Eddies, many Sands, and divers Islands sharp-pointed with Rocks : But after one whole Year, journeying for the most Part by River, and the rest by Land, he grew daily to fewer Numbers, for both by Sickness, and by encountering with the People of those Regions, through which he travelled, his Companies were much wasted, especially by divers Incounters with the *Amapaiens* : And in all this Time he never could learn of any Passage into *Guiana*, nor any News or Fame thereof, until he came to the farther Border of the said *Amapaia*, eight Days Journey from the River *Caroli*, which was the farthest River that we entered. Among those of *Amapaia*, *Guiana* was famous, but few of these People accosted *Berreio*, or would trade with him the first three Months of the six which he sojourned there. This *Amapaia* is also marvellous rich in Gold (as both *Berreio* confessed, and those of *Guiana* with whom I had most Conference) and is situate upon *Oroonoko* also. In this Country *Berreio* lost 60 of his best Soldiers, and most of all his Horse that remained of his former Year's Travel : But in the End, after divers Encounters with those Nations, they grew to Peace, and they presented *Berreio* with 10 Images of fine Gold among divers other Plates and *Croissants*, which, as he swore to me and divers other Gentlemen, were so curiously wrought, as he had not seen the like either in *Italy*, *Spain*, or the *Low Countries* : and he was assur'd that when they came to the Hands of the *Spanish* King, to whom he had sent them by his Camp-master, they would appear very admirable, especially being wrought by such a Nation as had no Iron Instrument at all, nor any of those Helps which our Gold-smiths have to work withal. The particular Name of the People in *Amapaia* which gave him these Pieces are called *Anebas*, and the River of *Oroonoko* at that Place is above 12 *English* Miles broad, which may be from his Out-fall into the Sea 700 or 800 Miles.

This

This Province of *Amapaia* is a very low and a marshy ground near the River, and by Reason of the red Water which issueth out in small Branches through the fenny and boggy Ground, there bred divers poisonous Worms and Serpents, and the *Spaniards* not suspecting, nor in any sort foreknowing the Danger, were infected with a grievous Kind of Flux by drinking thereof, and even the very Horses were poisoned therewith: In so much as at the End of the six Months that they abode there, of all their Troops, there were not left above 120 Soldiers, and neither Horse nor Cattle. For *Berreio* hoped to have found *Guiana* by 1000 Miles nearer than it fell out to be in the End, by Means whereof they sustained much Want and much Hunger, oppressed with grievous Diseases, and all the Miseries that could be imagined. I demanded of those in *Guiana* that had travelled *Amapaia*, how they lived with that tawny or red Water when they travelled thither, and they told me, that after the Sun was near the Middle of the Sky, they used to fill their Pots and Pitchers with that Water; but either before that Time, or towards the Setting of the Sun, it was dangerous to drink of, and in the Night strong Poison. I learned also of divers other Rivers of that Nature among them, which were also (while the Sun was in the Meridian) very safe to drink, and in the Morning, Evening, and Night, wonderful dangerous and infective. From this Province *Berreio* hastened away as soon as the Spring and Beginning of Summer appeared, and sought his Entrance on the Borders of *Oroonoko* on the South Side, but there ran a Ledge of so high and impassable Mountains, as he was not able by any Means to march over them, continuing from the East-Sea, into which *Oroonoko* falleth, even to *Quito* in *Peru*: Neither had he Means to carry Victuals or Munition over those craggy, high, and vast Hills, being all woody, and those so thick and spiny, and so full of Prickles, Thorns, and Briers, as it is impossible

possible to creep through them : He had also neither Friendship among the People, nor any Interpreter to perswade or treat with them, and more to his Disadvantage, the *Casiqui* and Kings of *Amapaia* had given Knowledge of his Purpose to the *Guianians*, and that he sought to sack and conquer the Empire, for the Hope of their so great Abundance and Quantities of Gold : He passed by the Mouths of many great Rivers, which fell into *Oroonoko* both from the North and South, which I forbear to name for Tedioufness, and because they are more pleasing in describing than reading.

Berreio affirmed that there fell an hundred Rivers into *Oroonoko* from the North and South, whereof the least was as big as *Rio Grande*, that passeth between *Popayan*, and *Nuevo Reyno de Granada* (*Rio Grande* being esteemed one of the most renowned Rivers in all the *West-Indies*, and numbered among the great Rivers of the World :) But he knew not the Names of any of these, but *Caroli* only, neither from what Nations they descended, neither to what Provinces they led, for he had no Means to discourse with the Inhabitants at any Time : Neither was he curious in these Things, being utterly unlearned, and not knowing the East from the West. But of all these I got some Knowledge, and of many more, partly by mine own Travel, and the rest by Conference : Of some one I learned one, of others the rest, having with me an *Indian* that spake many Languages, and that of *Guiana* naturally. I sought out all the aged Men, and such as were greatest Travellers, and by the one and the other I came to understand the Situations, the Rivers, the Kingdoms from the East-Sea to the Borders of *Peru*, and from *Oroonoko* southward as far as *Amazones* or *Maragnon*, and the Regions of *Maria Tamball*, and of all the Kings of Provinces, and Captains of Towns and Villages, how they stood in Times of Peace or War, and which were Friends or Enemies the one with the

the other, without which there can be neither Entrance nor Conquest in those Parts, nor elsewhere : For by the Dissention between *Guascar* and *Atabalipa*, *Paçaro* conquered *Peru*, and by the Hatred that the *Traxcallians* bore to *Montezuma*, *Cortez* was victorious over *Mexico*, without which both the one and the other had failed of their Enterprize, and of the great Honour and Riches which they attained unto.

Now *Berreio* began to grow into Despair, and looked for no other Success than his Predecessors in this Enterprize, until such Time as he arrived at the Province of *Emeria* towards the East-Sea and Mouth of the River, where he found a Nation of People very favourable, and the Country full of all Manner of Victuals. The King of this Land is called *Carapana* ; a Man very wise, subtile, and of great Experience, being little less than a hundred Years old : In his Youth, he was sent by his Father into the Island of *Trinidad*, by Reason of civil War among themselves, and was bred at a Village in that Island called *Parico* : At that Place, in his Youth, he had seen many Christians both *French* and *Spanish*, and went divers Times with the *Indians* of *Trinidad* to *Marguerita* and *Cumana* in the *West-Indies*, (for both those Places have ever been relieved with Victual from *Trinidad*) by Reason whereof he grew of more Understanding, and noted the Difference of the Nations, comparing the Strength and Armies of his Country with those of the Christians, and ever after temporized so, as whosoever else did amiss, or was wasted by Contention, *Carapana* kept himself and his Country in Quiet and Plenty : He also held Peace with *Caribas* or *Canibals* his Neighbours, and had free Trade with all Nations whosoever else had War.

Berreio sojourned and rested his weak Troop in the Town of *Carapana* six Weeks, and from him learned the Way and Passage to *Guiana*, and the Riches and Magnificence thereof : But being then utterly unable

to

to proceed, he determined to try his Fortune another Year, when he had renewed his Provisions, and re-gathered more Force, which he hoped for, as well out of *Spain* as from *Nuevo Reyno*, where he had left his Son *Don Antonio Xemenes* to second him upon the first Notice given of his Entrance, and so for the present embarked himself in *Cano's*, and by the Branches of *Oroonoko* arrived at *Trinidado*, having from *Carapana* sufficient Pilots to conduct him. From *Trinidado* he coasted *Paria*, and so recovered *Marguerita*: And having made Relation to *Don Juan Sermiento* the Governor, of his Proceeding, and perswaded him of the Riches of *Guiana*, he obtained from thence 50 Soldiers, promising presently to return to *Carapana*, and so into *Guiana*. But *Berreio* meant nothing less at that Time, for he wanted many Provisions necessary for such an Enterprize, and therefore departing from *Marguerita*, seated himself in *Trinidado*, and from thence sent his Camp-master and his Serjeant-major back to the Borders, to discover the nearest Passage into the Empire, as also to treat with the Borderers, and to draw them to his Party and Love, without which, he knew he could neither pass safely, nor in any Sort be relieved with Victuals or ought else. *Carapana* directed this Company to a King called *Morequito*, assuring them that no Man could deliver so much of *Guiana* as *Morequito* could, and that his Dwelling was but five Days Journey from *Macureguari*, the first civil Town of *Guiana*.

Now your Lordship shall understand that this *Morequito*, one of the greatest Lords or Kings of the Borders of *Guiana*, had two or three Years before been at *Cumana* and at *Marguerita* in the *West-Indies*, with great Store of Plates of Gold, which he carried to exchange for such other Things as he wanted in his own Country, and was daily feasted, and presented by the Governors of those Places, and held amongst them some two Months; in which Time one *Vides*,
Governor

Governor of *Cumana* won him to be his Conductor into *Guiana*, being allured by those *Croissants* and Images of Gold which he brought with him to trade, as also by the ancient Fane and Magnificence of *El Dorado*: Whereupon *Vides* sent into *Spain* for a Patent to discover and conquer *Guiana*, not knowing of the Precedence of *Berreos* Patent, which, as *Berreos* affirmeth, was signed before that of *Vides*: So as when *Vides* understood of *Berreos*, and that he had made Entrance into that Territory, and foregone his Desire and Hope, it was verily thought that *Vides* practised with *Morequito* to hinder and disturb *Berreos* in all he could, and not to suffer him to enter through his *Seignery*, nor any of his Companies, neither to victual, nor guide them in any Sort; for *Vides* Governor of *Cumana*, and *Berreos* were become mortal Enemies, as well for that *Berreos* had gotten *Trinidad* into his Patent with *Guiana*, as also in that he was by *Berreos* prevented in the Journey of *Guiana* it self: Howsoever it was I know not, but *Morequito* for a Time dissembled his Disposition, suffered *Spaniards*, and a Frier (which *Berreos* had sent to discover *Manoa*) to travel through his Country, gave them a Guide for *Macureguarai* the first Town of civil and apparelled People, from whence they had other Guides to bring them to *Manoa* the great City of *Inga*: And being furnished with those Things, which they had learned of *Carapana*, were of most Price in *Guiana*, went onward, and in eleven Days arrived at *Manoa*, as *Berreos* affirmeth for certain: Although I could not be assured thereof by the Lord which now governeth the Province of *Morequito*, for he told me that they got all the Gold they had, in other Towns on this side *Manoa*, there being many very great and rich, and (as he said) built like the Towns of *Christians*, with many Rooms.

When these ten *Spaniards* were returned, and ready to put out of the Border of *Arromaia*, the People of *Morequito* set upon them, and slew them all but one that swam the River, and took from them to the

Value of 40000 Pesoes of Gold, and as it is written in the story of *Job*, one only lived to bring the News to *Berreio*, that both his nine Soldiers and holy Father were benighted in the said Province. I my self spake with the Captains of *Morequito* that slew them, and was at the Place where it was executed. *Berreio*, enraged herewithal, sent all the strength he could make into *Arromaia*, to be revenged of him, his People, and Country: But *Morequito* suspecting the same fled over *Oroonoko*, and through the Territories of the *Saima*, and *Wikiri*, recovered *Cumana*, where he thought himself very safe with *Vides* the Governor: But *Berreio* sending for him in the King's Name, and his Messengers finding him in the House of one *Fashardo* on the sudden ere it was suspected, so as he could not then be conveyed away, *Vides* durst not deny him, as well to avoid the Suspicion of the Practice, as also for that an holy Father was slain by him and his People. *Morequito* offered *Fashardo* the Weight of three Quintals in Gold, to let him escape, but the poor *Guianian* betrayed of all Sides was delivered to the Campmaster of *Berreio*, and was presently executed.

After the Death of this *Morequito*, the Soldiers of *Berreio* spoiled his Territory, and took divers Prisoners, among others they took the Unkle of *Morequito* called *Topiawari*, who is now King of *Arromaia*, (whose Son I brought with me into *England*) and is a Man of great Understanding and Policy: He is above 100 Years old, and yet of a very able Body: The *Spaniards* led him in a Chain 17 Days, and made him their Guide from Place to Place between his Country and *Emeria* the Province of *Carapana* aforesaid, and was at last redeemed for 100 Plates of Gold, and divers Stones called *Piedras Hyadas*, or *Spleen* Stones. Now *Berreio* for executing of *Morequito* and other Cruelties, Spoils, and Slaughters done in *Arromaia* hath lost the Love of the *Oroonokoponi*, and of all the Borderers, and dare not send any of his Soldiers any farther into the Land than

than to *Carapana*, which he calleth the Port of *Guiana*: But from thence by the Help of *Carapana* he had trade farther into the Country, and always appointed 10 *Spaniards* to reside in *Carapanas* Town, by whose Favour, and by being conducted by his People, those ten searched the Country thereabouts as well for Mines, as for other Trades and Commodities.

They have also gotten a Nephew of *Morequito*, whom they have christened and named *Don Juan*, of whom they have great Hope, endeavouring by all Means to establish him in the said Province. Among many other Trades those *Spaniards* used in *Cano's* to pass to the Rivers of *Barema*, *Pawroma*, and *Dissequebe*, which are on the South-Side of the Mouth of *Oroonoko*, and there buy Women and Children from the Canibals, which are of that barbarous Nature, as they will for 3 or 4 Hatchets sell the Sons and Daughters of their own Brethren and Sisters, and for somewhat more even their own Daughters: Hereof the *Spaniards* make great Profit, for buying a Maid of 12 or 13 Years for three or four Hatchets, they sell them again at *Marguerita* in the *West Indies* for 50 and 100 Pesoes, which is so many Crowns.

The Master of my Ship *Jo. Douglas* took one of the *Cano's* which came laden from thence with People to be sold, and the most of them escaped, yet of those he brought, there was one as well favoured, and as well shaped as ever I saw any in *England*, and afterward I saw many of them, which but for their tawny Colour may be compared to any of *Europe*. They also trade in those Rivers for Bread of *Cassau*, of which they buy an Hundred Pound Weight for a Knife, and sell it at *Marguerita* for ten Pesoes. They also recover great store of Cotton, Brasil-wood, and those Beds which they call *Hamacas* or Brasil-Beds, wherein in hot Countries all the *Spaniards* use to lie commonly, and in no other, neither did we ourselves while we were there: By Means of which Trades, for Ransom

of divers of the *Guianians*, and for Exchange of Hatchets and Knives, *Berre* recovered some Store of Gold Plates, Eagles of Gold, and Images of Men and divers Birds, and dispatched his Campmaster for *Spain* with all that he had gathered, therewith to levy Soldiers, and by the Shew thereof to draw others to the Love of the Enterprize: And having sent divers Images as well of Men as Beasts, Birds and Fishes so curiously wrought in Gold, doubted not but to persuade the King to yield to him some further Help, especially for that this Land hath never been sacked, the Mines never wrought, and in the Indies their Works were well spent, and the Gold drawn out with great Labour and Charge: He also dispatched Messengers to his Son in *Nuevo reyno* to levy all the Forces he could, and to come down the River of *Oroonoko* to *Emeria*, the Province of *Carapana*, to meet him: He had also sent to *Sant Jago de Leon* on the Coast of the *Caraccas* to buy Horses and Mules.

After I had thus learned of his Proceedings past and purposed: I told him that I had resolved to see *Guiana*, and that it was the End of my Journey, and the Cause of my coming to *Trinidad*, as it was indeed, (and for that Purpose I sent *Ja. Whiddon* the Year before to get Intelligence, with whom *Berre* himself had Speech at that Time, and remembered how inquisitive *Ja. Whiddon* was of his Proceedings, and of the Country of *Guiana*,) *Berre* was stricken into a great Melancholy and Sadness, and used all the Arguments he could to dissuade me, and also assured the Gentlemen of my Company that it would be Labour lost: And that they should suffer many Miseries if they proceeded: And First he delivered that I could not enter any of the Rivers with any Bark or Pinnace, nor hardly with any Ships Boat, it was so low, sandy, and full of Flats, and that his Companies were daily grounded in their *Cano's* which drew but twelve Inches Water: He further said, that none of the Country would come

to

to speak with us, but would all fly, and if we followed them to their Dwellings, they would burn their own Towns; and besides that the Way was long, the Winter at Hand, and that the Rivers beginning once to swell, it was impossible to stem the Current, and that we could not in those small Boats by any Means carry Victual for half the Time, and that (which indeed most discouraged my Company) the Kings and Lords of all the Borders and of *Guiana* had decreed, that none of them should trade with any Christians for Gold, because the same would be their own Overthrow, and that for the Love of Gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossess them of all together.

Many and the most of these I found to be true; but yet I resolving to make Trial of all, whatsoever happened, directed Captain *George Gifford* my Vice-admiral to take the *Lions Whelp*, and Captain *Calfield* his Bark to turn to the Eastward, against the Breeze what they could possible, to recover the Mouth of a River called *Capuri*, whose Entrance I had before sent Captain *Whiddon* and *Jo. Douglas* the Master, to discover, who found some nine Foot Water or better upon the Flood, and five at low Water, to whom I had given Instructions that they should anchor at the Edge of the Shold, and upon the best of the Flood to thrust over, which Shold *John Douglas* boyed and beckoned for them before: But they laboured in vain, for neither could they turn it up altogether so far to the East, neither did the Flood continue so long, but the Water fell ere they could have passed the Sands, as we after found by second Experience: So as now we must either give over our Enterprize, or leaving our Ships at Adventure 400 Miles behind us, to run up in our Ships Boats, one Barge, and two Wherries; but being doubtful how to carry Victuals for so long a Time in such Baubles, or any Strength of Men, especially for that *Berreio* assured us that his Son must be by that Time come down with many Soldiers, I sent away one *King* Master of the

Lions Whelp with his Ships Boat to try another Branch of a River in the Bottom of the Bay of *Guanipa*, which was called *Amana*, to prove if there was Water to be found for either of the small Ships to enter : But when he came to the Mouth of *Amana*, he found it as the rest, but stayed not to discover it thoroughly, because he was assured by an *Indian* his Guide that the *Canibals* of *Guanipa* would assail them with many *Cano's*, and that they shot poisoned Arrows, so as if he halted not back they should all be lost.

In the mean Time fearing the worst, I caused all the Carpenters we had to cut down a *Gallego* Boat, which we meant to cast off, and to fit her with Banks to row on, and in all Things to prepare her the best they could, so as she might be brought to draw but five Foot, for so much we had on the Bar of *Capuri* at low Water: And doubting of *King's* return I sent *Jo. Douglas* again in my long Barge, as well to relieve him, as also to make a perfect Search in the Bottom of that Bay : For it hath been held for infallible that whatsoever Ship or Boat shall fall therein, can never disembogue again, by Reason of the violent Current which setteth into the said Bay, as also for that the Breeze and easterly Wind bloweth directly into the same, of which Opinion I have heard *John Hampton* of *Plimouth*, one of the greatest Experience of *England*, and divers others besides that have traded to *Trinidado*.

I sent with *John Douglas* an old *Cassique* of *Trinidado* for a Pilot, who told us that we could not return again by the Bay or Gulf, but that he knew a by Branch which ran within the Land to the Eastward, and that he thought by it we might fall into *Capuri*, and so return in four Days : *John Douglas* searched those Rivers, and found four goodly Entrances, whereof the least was as big as the *Thames* at *Woolwich*: but in the Bay thitherward it was shole and but six Foot Water, so as we were now without Hope of any Ship or Bark to pass over, and therefore resolved to go on with the
Boats,

Boats, and the Bottom of the *Gallego*, in which we thrust 60 Men : In the *Lions Whelps* Boat and Wherry we carried 20. Captain *Calfield* in his Wherry carried ten more, and in my Barge other ten, which made up a Hundred : We had no other Means but to carry Victual for a Month in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boil and dress our Meat. Captain *Gifford* had with him Master *Edw. Porter*, Captain *Eynos*, and eight more in his Wherry with all their Victual, Weapons, and Provisions : Captain *Calfield* had with him my Cousin *Butthead Gorges* and eight more. In the Galley, of Gent. and Officers myself had Captain *Thyn*, my chosen *John Greenville*, my Nephew *John Gilbert*, Captain *Whiddon*, Captain *Keymis*, *Edw. Hancoke*, Captain *Clarke*, Lieutenant *Hewes*, *Tho. Upton*, Captain *Facy*, *Jerome Ferrar*, *Antho. Wells*, *Wil. Connock*, and about 50 more. We could not learn of *Berreio* any other Way to enter but in Branches, so far to the Windward as it was impossible for us to recover : For we had as much Sea to cross over in our Wherries as between *Dover* and *Calais*, and in a great Billow, the Wind and Current being both very strong, so as we were driven to go in those small Boats directly before the Wind into the Bottom of the Bay of *Guanipa*, and from thence to enter the Mouth of some one of those Rivers, which *Jo. Douglas* had last discovered, and had with us for Pilot an *Indian* of *Barema*, a River to the South of *Oroonoko*, between that and *Amazones*, whose *Cano's* we had formerly taken as he was going from the said *Barema*, laden with *Cassavi* Bread to sell at *Marguerita* : This *Arwacan* promised to bring me into the great River of *Oroonoko*, but indeed of that which we entred he was utterly ignorant, for he had not seen it in twelve Years before, at which Time he was very young, and of no Judgment, and if God had not sent us another Help, we might have wandred a whole Year in that Labyrinth of Rivers, ere we had found any Way, either out or

in, especially after we were past the Ebbing and Flowing, which was in four Days: For I know all the Earth doth not yield the like Confluence of Streams and Branches, the one crossing the other- so many Times, and also fair and large, and so like one to another, as no Man can tell which to take: And if we went by the Sun or Compass hoping thereby to go directly one Way or other, yet that Way we were also carried in a Circle amongst Multitudes of Islands, and every Island so bordered with high Trees, as no Man could see any further than the Breadth of the River, or Length of the Breach: But thus it chanced, that entering into a River, (which because it had no Name we called the River of the *Red-Cross*, ourselves being the First *Christians* that ever came therein:) The 22d of *May* as we were rowing up the same, we espied a small *Cano* with three *Indians*, which (by the Swift-ness of my Barge, rowing with eight Oars) I overtook ere they could cross the River; the rest of the People on the Banks shadowed under the thick Wood gazed on with a doubtful Conceit what might befall those three which we had taken: But when they perceived that we offered them no Violence, neither entered their *Cano* with any of ours, nor took out of the *Cano* any of theirs, they then began to shew themselves on the Bank's side, and offered to traffick with us for such Things as they had; and as we drew near they all staid, and we came with our Barge to the Mouth of a little Creek which came from their Town into the great River.

As we abode there a while, our *Indian* Pilot called *Ferdinando* would needs go ashore to their Village to fetch some Fruits, and to drink of their artificial Wines, and also to see the Place, and to know the Lord of it against another Time, and took with him a Brother of his which he had with him in the Journey: When they came to the Village of these People, the Lord of the Island offered to lay Hands on them, purposing to have

have slain them both, yielding for Reason that this *Indian* of ours had brought a strange Nation into their Territory to spoil and destroy them: But the Pilot being quick and of a disposed Body slipt their Fingers, and ran into the Woods, and his Brother being the better Footman of the two, recovered the Creeks Mouth, where we stayed in our Barge, crying out that his Brother was slain; with that we set Hands on one of them that was next us, a very old Man, and brought him into the Barge, assuring him that if we had not our Pilot again, we would presently cut off his Head. This old Man being resolved that he should pay the Loss of the other, cried out to those in the Woods to save *Ferdinando* our Pilot, but they followed him notwithstanding, and hunted after him upon the Foot with their Deer Dogs, and with so main a Cry that all the Woods echoed with the Shout they made; but at last this poor chased *Indian* recovered the River side, and got upon a Tree, and as we were coasting, leaped down and swam to the Barge half dead with Fear; but our good Hap was, that we kept the other old *Indian*, which we handfasted to redeem our Pilot withal, for being natural of those Rivers, we assured ourselves he knew the Way better than any Stranger could; and indeed, but for this Chance I think we had never found the Way either to *Guiana*, or back to our Ships: For *Ferdinando* after a few Days knew nothing at all, nor which Way to turn, yea and many Times the old Man himself was in great Doubt which River to take. Those People which dwell in these broken Islands and drowned Lands are generally called *Tivitivas*; there are of them two Sorts, the one called *Ciawani*, and the other *Waraweete*.

The great River of *Oroonoko* or *Baraquan* hath nine Branches which fall out on the North side of his own main Mouth: On the South side it hath seven other Fallings into the Sea, so it dissembogueth by 16 Arms in all, between Islands and broken Ground, but the
Islands

Islands are very great, many of them as big as the Isle of *Wight* and bigger, and many less: From the first Branch on the North to the last of the South it is at least 100 Leagues, so as the River's Mouth is no less than 300 Miles wide at his Entrance into the Sea, which I take to be far bigger than that of *Amazones*: All those that inhabit in the Mouth of this River upon the several North Branches are these *Tivitivas*, of which there are two chief Lords which have continual Wars one with the other: The Islands which lie on the right Hand are called *Pallamos*, and the Land of the left *Horotomaka*, and the River by which *John Dowglas* returned within the Land from *Amana* to *Capuri*, they call *Macuri*.

These *Tivitivas* are a very goodly People, and very valiant, and have the most manly Speech and most deliberate that ever I heard of what Nation soever. In the Summer they have Houses on the Ground as in other Places: In the Winter they dwell upon the Trees, where they build very artificial Towns and Villages, as it is written in the *Spanish* Story of the *West-Indies*, that those People do in the Low-Lands near the Gulf of *Uraba*: For between *May* and *September* the River of *Oroonoko* riseth thirty Foot upright, and then are those Islands overflown twenty Foot high above the level of the Ground, saving some few raised Grounds in the Middle of them: And for this Cause they are enforced to live in this Manner. They never eat of any Thing that is set or sown, and as at Home they use neither Planting nor other Manurance, so when they come abroad they refuse to feed of ought, but of that which Nature without Labour bringeth forth. They use the Tops of *Palmitos* for Bread, and kill Deer, Fish and Porks for the rest of their Sustenance; they have also many Sorts of Fruits that grow in the Woods, and great Variety of Birds and Fowl.

And if to speak of them were not tedious and vulgar, surely we saw in those Passages of very rare Colours

lours and Forms, not elsewhere to be found, for as much as I have either seen or read. Of these People, those that dwell upon the Branches of *Oroonoko* called *Capuri* and *Macureo*, are for the most Part Carpenters of *Cano's*, for they make the most and fairest Houses, and sell them into *Guiana* for Gold, and into *Trinidad* for Tobacco, in the excessive taking whereof, they exceed all Nations; and notwithstanding the Moistness of the Air in which they live, the Hardness of their Diet, and the great Labours they suffer to hunt, fish, and fowl for their living, in all my Life either in the *Indies* or in *Europe* did I never behold a more goodly or better favoured People, or a more manly. They were wont to make War upon all Nations, and especially on the *Canibals*, so as none durst without a good Strength trade by those Rivers; but of late they are at Peace with their Neighbours, all holding the *Spaniards* for a common Enemy. When their Commanders die, they use great Lamentation, and when they think the Flesh of their Bodies is putrified, and fallen from the Bones, then they take up the Carcase again, and hang it in the *Casiqui's* House that died, and deck his Skull with Feathers of all Colours, and hang all his Gold Plates about the Bones of his Arms, Thighs, and Legs. Those Nations which are called *Arwacas* which dwell on the South of *Oroonoko*, (of which Place and Nation our *Indian* Pilot was) are dispersed in many other Places, and do use to beat the Bones of their Lords into Powder, and their Wives and Friends drink it all in their several Sorts of Drinks.

After we departed from the Port of these *Ciawani*, we passed up the River with the Flood, and anchored the Ebb, and in this Sort we went onward. The third Day that we entred the River our *Galley* came on Ground and stuck so fast, as we thought that even there our Discovery had ended, and that we must have left 60 of our Men to have inhabited like Rooks upon Trees with those Nations: But the next Morning, after

we

we had cast out all her Ballast, with tugging and hawling two and fro, we got her afloat, and went on: At four Days End we fell into as goodly a River as ever I beheld, which was called the great *Amana*, which ran more directly without Windings and Turnings than the other. But soon after the Flood of the Sea left us, and were enforced either by main Strength to row against a violent Current, or to return as wise as we went out; we had then no Shift but to persuade the Companies that it was but two or three Days Work, and therefore desired them to take Pains, every Gentleman and others taking their Turns to row, and to spell one the other at the Hour's End. Every Day we passed by goodly Branches of Rivers, some falling from the West, others from the East into *Amana*, but those I leave to the Description in the Chart of Discovery, where every one shall be named with his Rising and Descent. When three Days more were overgone, our Companies began to despair, the Weather being extreme hot, the River bordered with very high Trees that kept away the Air, and the Current against us every Day stronger than other: But we evermore commanded our Pilots to promise an End the next Day, and used it so long as we were driven to assure them from four Reaches of the River to three, and so to two, and so to the next Reach: But so long we laboured as many Days were spent, and so driven to draw ourselves to harder Allowance, our Bread even at the last, and no drink at all: And our Men and ourselves so wearied and scorched, and doubtful withal whether we should ever perform it or no, the Heat encreasing as we drew towards the Line; for we were now in five Degrees.

The farther we went on (our Victual decreasing and the Air breeding great Faintness) we grew weaker and weaker when we had most need of Strength and Ability, for hourly the River ran more violently than other against us, and the Barge, Wherries, and Ships Boat of Captain *Gifford*, and Captain *Calfield*, had spent

spent all their Provisions, so as we were brought into Despair and Discomfort, had we not persuaded all the Company that it was but only one Day's Work more to attain the Land where we should be relieved of all we wanted, and if we returned, that we were sure to starve by the Way, and that the World would also laugh us to scorn. On the Banks of these Rivers were divers Sorts of Fruits good to eat, Flowers and Trees of that Variety as were sufficient to make ten Volumes of Herbals. We relieved ourselves many Times with the Fruits of the Country, and sometimes with Fowl and Fish : We saw Birds of all Colours, some carnation, some crimson, orange tawny, purple, green, watched, and of all other Sorts both simple and mixt, as it was unto us a great good passing of the Time to behold them, besides the Relief we found by killing some store of them with our fowling Pieces, without which, having little or no Bread and less Drink, but only the thick and troubled Water of the River, we had been in a very hard Case.

Our old Pilot of the *Ciawani* (whom, as I said before, we took to redeem *Ferdinando*,) told us, that if we would enter a Branch of a River on the right Hand with our Barge and Wherries, and leave the Galley at anchor the while in the great River, he would bring us to a Town of the *Arwacas* where we should find store of Bread, Hens, Fish, and of the Country Wine, and persuaded us that departing from the Galley at Noon, we might return ere Night : I was very glad to hear this Speech, and presently took my Barge, with eight Musketeers, Captain *Gifford's* Wherry, with himself and four Musketeers, and Captain *Calfield* with his Wherry and as many, and so we entered the Mouth of this River ; and because we were persuaded that it was so near, we took no Victual with us at all : When we had rowed three Hours, we marvelled we saw no Sign of any Dwelling, and asked the Pilot where the Town was, he told us a little farther : After three Hours

Hours more the Sun being almost set, we began to suspect that he led us that Way to betray us, for he confessed that those *Spaniards* which fled from *Trinidado*, and also those that remained with *Carapana* in *Emeria*, were joined together in some Village upon that River. But when it grew towards Night, and we demanding where the Place was, he told us but four Reaches more: When we had rowed four and four, we saw no Sign, and our poor Watermen even Heart-broken, and tired, were ready to give up the Ghost; for we had now come from the Galley near forty Miles.

At the last we determined to hang the Pilot, and if we had well known the Way back again by Night, he had surely gone, but our own Necessities pleaded sufficiently for his Safety: For it was as dark as Pitch, and the River began so to narrow itself, and the Trees to hang over from Side to Side, as we were driven with arming Swords to cut a Passage thorough those Branches that covered the Water. We were very desirous to find this Town, hoping of a Feast, because we made but a short Breakfast aboard the *Galley* in the Morning, and it was now eight o'Clock at Night, and our Stomachs began to gnaw apace: But whether it was best to return or go on, we began to doubt, suspecting Treason in the Pilot more and more: But the poor old *Indian* ever assured us that it was but a little farther, and but this one turning, and that turning, and at last about one o'Clock after Midnight we saw a Light, and rowing towards it, we heard the Dogs of the Village. When we landed we found few People, for the Lord of that Place was gone with divers *Cano's* above 400 Miles off, upon a Journey towards the Head of *Oroonoko* to trade for Gold, and to buy Women of the *Canibals*, who afterward unfortunately passed by us as we rode at an Anchor in the Port of *Morequito* in the dark of Night, and yet came so near us, as his *Cano's* grated against our Barges: He

He left one of his Company at the Port of *Morequito*, by whom we understood that he had brought thirty young Women, divers Plates of Gold, and had great Store of fine Pieces of Cotton-Cloth, and Cotton-Beds. In his House we had good Store of Bread, Fish, Hens, and *Indian* Drink, and so rested that Night, and in the Morning after we had traded with such of his People as came down, we returned towards our Galley, and brought with us some Quantity of Bread, fish, and Hens.

On both Sides of this River, we passed the most beautiful Country that ever mine Eyes beheld: And whereas all that we had seen before was nothing but Woods, Prickles, Bushes, and Thorns, here we beheld Plains of twenty Miles in Length, the Grass short and green, and in divers Parts Groves of Trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the Art and Labour in the World so made of Purpose: And still as we rowed, the Deer came down feeding by the Waters Side, as if they had been used to a Keeper's Call. Upon this River there were great Store of Fowl, and of many Sorts: We saw in it divers Sorts of strange Fishes, and of marvellous Bigness, but for *Lagartos* it exceeded, for there were thousands of those ugly Serpents, and the People call it for the Abundance of them the River of *Lagartos*, in their Language. I had a Negro a very proper young Fellow, that leaping out of the Galley to swim in the Mouth of the River, was in all our Sights taken and devoured with one of those *Legartos*. In the mean while our Companies in the Galley thought we had been all lost, (for we promised to return before Night) and sent the *Lions Whelps* Ships Boat with Captain *Whiddon* to follow us up the River; but the next Day after we had rowed up and down some Fourscore Miles, we returned, and went on our Way, up the great River, and when we were even at the last Cast for Want of Victuals, Captain *Gifford* being before the Galley, and the rest of the Boats,

Boats, seeking out some Place to land upon the Banks to make Fire, espied four *Cano's* coming down the River, and with no small Joy caused his Men to try the uttermost of their Strengths, and after a while two of the four gave over, and ran themselves ashore, every Man betaking himself to the Fastness of the Woods, the two other lesser got away, while he landed to lay hold on these, and so turned into some By-creek, we knew not whither: those *Cano's* that were taken were loaden with Bread, and were bound for *Marguerita* in the *West-Indians*, which those *Indians* (called *Arwacas*) purposed to carry thither for Exchange: But in the lesser, there were three *Spaniards*, who having heard of the Defeat of their Governor in *Trinidado*, and that we purposed to enter *Guiana*, came away in those *Cano's*: One of them was a *Cavallero*, as the Captain of the *Arwacas* after told us, another a Soldier, and the third a Refiner.

In the mean Time, nothing on the Earth could have been more welcome to us next unto Gold, than the great Store of very excellent Bread which we found in these *Cano's*, for now our Men cried, Let us go on, we care not how far. After that Captain *Gifford* had brought the two *Cano's* to the Galley, I took my Barge, and went to the Bank's Side with a dozen Shot, where the *Cano's* first ran themselves ashore, and landed there, sending out Captain *Gifford* and Captain *Thyn* on one Hand, and Captain *Calfield* on the other, to follow those that were fled into the Woods; and as I was creeping through the Bushes, I saw an *Indian* Basket hidden, which was the Refiner's Basket, for I found in it, his Quicksilver, Saltpeter, and divers Things for the Trial of Metals, and also the Dust of such Ore as he had refined, but in those *Cano's* which escaped, there was a good Quantity of Ore and Gold. I then landed more Men, and offered 500 Pounds to what Soldier soever could take one of those three

Spaniards

Spaniards that we thought were landed. But our Labours were in vain in that Behalf, for they put themselves into one of the small *Cano's*: And so while the greater *Cano's* were in taking, they escaped: But seeking after the *Spaniards*, we found the *Arwacas* hidden in the Woods, which were Pilots for the *Spaniards*, and rowed their *Cano's*: Of which I kept the chiefest for a Pilot, and carried him with me to *Guiana*, by whom I understood, where and in what Countries the *Spaniards* had laboured for Gold, though I made not the same known to all: For when the Springs began to break, and the Rivers to raise themselves so suddenly, as by no Means we could abide the digging of any Mine, especially for that the richest are defended with Rocks of hard Stone, which we call the *White Spar*, and that it required both Time, Men, and Instruments fit for such a Work, I thought it best not to hover thereabouts, lest if the same had been perceived by the Company, there would have been by this Time many Barks and Ships set out, and perchance other Nations would also have gotten of ours for Pilots, so as both ourselves might have been prevented, and all our Care taken for good Usage of the People been utterly lost, by those that only respect present Profit, and such Violence or Insolence offered, as the Nations which are Borderers would have changed their Desire of our Love and Defence, into Hatred and Violence. And for any longer Stay to have brought a more Quantity (which I hear hath been often objected) whosoever had seen or proved the Fury of that River after it began to arise, and had been a Month and odd Days, as we were from hearing ought from our Ships, leaving them meanly manned, above 400 Miles off, would perchance have turned somewhat sooner than we did, if all the Mountains had been Gold, or rich Stones: And, to say the Truth, all the Branches and small Rivers which fell into *Oroonoko* were raised with such Speed, as if we waded them over the Shoes in

the Morning outward, we were covered to the Shoulders homeward the very same Day: And to stay to dig out Gold with our Nails, had been *Opus Laboris*, but not *Ingenii*: Such a Quantity as would have served our Turns we could not have had, but a Discovery of the Mines to our infinite Disadvantage we had made: and that could have been the best Profit of farther Search or Stay; for those Mines are not easily broken, nor opened in Haste; and I could have returned a good Quantity of Gold ready cast, if I had not shot at another Mark than present Profit.

This *Arwacan* Pilot with the rest, feared that we would have eaten them, or otherwise have put them to some cruel Death; for the *Spaniards*, to the End that none of the People in the Passage towards *Guiana* or in *Guiana* itself might come to Speech with us, persuaded all the Nations, that we were Men-eaters, and *Canibals*: But when the poor Men and Women had seen us, and that we gave them Meat, and to every one something or other, which was rare and strange to them, they began to conceive the Deceit and Purpose of the *Spaniards*, who indeed (as they confessed) took from them both their Wives and Daughters daily, and used them for the satisfying of their own Lusts, especially such as they took in this Manner by Strength. But I protest before the Majesty of the living God, that I neither know nor believe, that any of our Company one or other, by Violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their Women, and yet we saw many Hundreds, and had many in our Power, and of those very young, and excellently favoured, which came among us without Deceit, stark naked.

Nothing got us more Love among them than this Usage, for I suffered not any Man to take from any of the Nations so much as a *Pina*, or a *Potaloe* Root, without giving them Contentment, nor any Man so much as to offer to touch any of their Wives or Daughters: Which Course, so contrary to the *Spaniards* (who

tyrannize over them in all things) drew them to admire her Majesty, whose Commandment I told them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our Nation. But I confess it was a very impatient Work to keep the meaner Sort from Spoil and Stealing, when we came to their Houses, which because in all I could not prevent, I caused my *Indian* Interpreter, at every Place when we departed, to know of the Loss or Wrong done; and if ought were stolen or taken by Violence, either the same was restored, and the Party punished in their Sight, or else it was paid for to their uttermost Demand. They also much wondred at us, after they heard that we had slain the *Spaniards* at *Trinidado*, for they were before resolved, that no Nation of Christians durst abide their Presence; and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great Overthrow that her Majesty's Army and Fleet had given them of late Years in their own Countries.

After we had taken in this Supply of Bread, with divers Baskets of Roots, which were excellent Meat, I gave one of the *Cano's* to the *Arwacas*, which belonged to the *Spaniards* that were escaped, and when I had dismissed all but the Captain (who by the *Spaniards* was christened *Martin*) I sent back in the same *Cano* the old *Ciawan*, and *Ferdinando* my first Pilot, and gave them both such Things as they desired, with sufficient Victual to carry them back; and by them wrote a Letter to the Ships, which they promised to deliver, and performed it, and then I went on, with my new hired Pilot *Martin* the *Arwacan*: But the next or second Day after, we came aground again with our Galley, and were like to cast her away, with all our Victual and Provision, and so lay on the Sand one whole Night, and were far more in Despair at this Time to free her than before, because we had no Tide of Flood to help us; and therefore feared that all our Hopes would have ended in Mishaps: But we fastened an Anchor upon the Land, and with main Strength drew her off:

And so the 15th Day we discovered afar off the Mountains of *Guiana*, to our great Joy, and towards the Evening had a Slant of a northerly Wind that blew very strong, which brought us in sight of the great River of *Oroonoko*, out of which the River descended wherein we were: We descried afar off three other *Cano's* as far as we could discern them, after whom we hastened with our Barge and Wherries; but two of them passed out of Sight, and the third entered up the great River, on the right Hand to the Westward, and there stayed out of Sight, thinking that we meant to take the Way Eastward towards the Province of *Carapana*, for that Way the *Spaniards* keep, not daring to go upwards to *Guiana*, the People in those Parts being all their Enemies, and those in the *Cano's* thought us to have been those *Spaniards* that were fled from *Trinidado*, and had escaped killing: And when we came so far down as the opening of that Branch into which they slipped, being near them with our Barge and Wherries, we made after them, and ere they could land, came within Call, and by our Interpreter told them what we were; wherewith they came back willingly aboard us: And of such Fish and Tortoises Eggs as they had gathered, they gave us, and promised in the Morning to bring the Lord of that Part with them, and to do us all other Services they could.

That Night we came to an Anchor at the parting of three goodly Rivers (the one was the River of *Amana*, by which we came from the North, and ran athwart towards the South, the other two were of *Oroonoko* which crossed from the West and ran to Sea towards the East) and landed upon a fair Sand, where we found thousands of Tortoises Eggs, which are very wholesome Meat, and greatly restoring; so as our Men were now well filled, and highly contented both with the Fare, and Nearness of the Land of *Guiana*, which appeared in Sight. In the Morning there came down, according to Promise, the Lord of that Border called
Topari-

Toparimaca, with some thirty or forty Followers, and brought us divers Sorts of Fruits, and of his Wine, Bread, Fish, and Flesh, whom we also feasted as we could, at least he drank good *Spanish* Wine (whereof we had a small Quantity in Bottles) which above all Things they love. I conferred with this *Toparimaca* of the next Way to *Guiana*, who conducted our Galley and Boats to his own Port, and carried us from thence some Mile and half to his Town, where some of our Captains caroused of his Wine till they were reasonable pleasant; for it is very strong with Pepper, and the Juice of divers Herbs, and Fruits digested and purged; they keep it in great earthen Pots of ten or twelve Gallons, very clean and sweet, and are themselves at their Meetings and Feasts the greatest Carousers and Drunkards of the World: When we came to this Town we found two *Cassiques*, whereof one of them was a Stranger that had been up the River in Trade, and his Boats, People, and Wife encamped at the Port where we anchored, and the other was of that Country, a Follower of *Toparimaca*: They lay each of them in a Cotton Hammock, which we call Brasil Beds, and two Women attending them with six Cups and a little Ladle to fill them, out of an earthen Pitcher of Wine, and so they drank each of them three of those Cups at a Time, one to the other; and in this Sort they drink drunk at their Feasts and Meetings.

That *Cassique* that was a Stranger had his Wife staying at the Port where we anchored, and in all my Life I have seldom seen a better favoured Woman: She was of good Stature, with black Eyes, fat of Body, of an excellent Countenance, her Hair almost as long as herself, tied up again in pretty Knots, and it seemed she stood not in that Awe of her Husband as the rest; for she spake and discours'd, and drank among the Gentlemen and Captains, and was very pleasant, knowing her own Comeliness, and taking great Pride there-

in. I have seen a Lady in *England* so like her, as but for the Difference of Colour I would have sworn might have been the same.

The Seat of this Town of *Toparimaca* was very pleasant, standing on a little Hill, in an excellent Prospect, with goodly Gardens, a Mile compass round about it, and two very fair and large Ponds of excellent Fish adjoining. This Town is called *Arowocai*: The People are of the Nation called *Nepoios*, and are Followers of *Carapana*. In that Place I saw very aged People, that we might perceive all their Sinews and Veins without any Flesh, and but even as a Case covered only with Skin. The Lord of this Place gave me an old Man for Pilot, who was of great Experience and Travel, and knew their River most perfectly both by Day and Night; and it shall be requisite for any Man that passeth it to have such a Pilot, for it is four, five, and six Miles over in many Places, and twenty Miles in other Places, with wonderful Eddies, and strong Currents, many great Islands and divers Sholes, and many dangerous Rocks, and besides upon any Increase of Wind so great a Billow, as we were sometimes in great Peril of drowning in the Galley, for the small Boats durst not come from the Shore, but when it was very fair.

The next Day we hasted thence, and having an easterly Wind to help us, we spared our Arms from rowing: For after we entered *Oroonoko*, the River lieth for the most Part East and West, even from the Sea unto *Quito* in *Peru*. This River is navigable with Ships little less than 1000 Miles, and from the Place where we entered it may be sailed up in a small Pinaces to many of the best Parts of *Nuevo reyno de Granado*, and of *Popayan*: And from no Place may the Cities of these Parts of the *Indies* be so easily taken and invaded as from hence. All that Day we sailed up a Branch of that River, having on the left Hand a great Island, which they call *Assipana*, which may contain some
five

five and twenty Miles in Length, and six Miles in Breadth, the great Body of the River running on the other Side of this Island: Beyond that middle Branch there is also another Island in the River, called *Iwana*, which is twice as big as the Isle of *Wight*; and beyond it, and between it and the Main of *Guiana*, runneth a third Branch of *Oroonoko* called *Arraroopana*: All three are goodly Branches, and all navigable for great Ships. I judge the River in this Place to be at least thirty Miles broad, reckoning the Islands which divide the Branches in it; for afterwards I sought also both the other Branches.

After we reached to the Head of this Island, called *Affapana*, a little to the Westward on the right Hand there opened a River which came from the North, called *Europa*, and fell into the great River; and beyond it, on the same Side, we anchored for that Night, by another Island six Miles long, and two Miles broad, which they call *Ocawita*: From hence in the Morning we landed two *Guianians*, which we found in the Town of *Toparimaca*, that came with us, who went to give Notice of our coming to the Lord of that Country, called *Putyma*, a Follower of *Topiawari*, chief Lord of *Arromaia*, who succeeded *Morequito*, whom (as you have heard before) *Berreio* put to Death; but his Town being far within the Land, he came not unto us that Day, so as we anchored again that Night near the Banks of another Island, of Bigness much like the other, which they call *Putapayma*, on the main Land, over-against which Island was a very high Mountain called *Oecope*: We coveted to anchor rather by these Islands in the River, than by the Main, because of the Tortoises Eggs, which our People found on them in great Abundance, and also because the Ground served better for us to cast our Nets for Fish, the main Banks being for the most Part stony and high, and the Rocks of a blew metalline Colour, like unto the best Steel Ore, which I assuredly take it to be: Of the same

blue Stone are also divers great Mountains, which border this River in many Places.

The next Morning towards Nine of the Clock, we weighed Anchor, and the Breeze increasing, we sailed always West up the River, and after a while opening the Land on the right Side, the Country appeared to be champain, and the Banks shewed very perfect red : I therefore sent two of the little Barges with Captain *Gifford*, and with him Captain *Thyn*, Captain *Calfield*, my Cousin *Greenvile*, my Nephew *Jo. Gilbert*, Captain *Eynus*, Master *Edw. Porter*, and my Cousin *Butshead Gorges*, with some few Soldiers, to march over the Banks of that red Land, and to discover what manner of Country it was on the other Side ; who at their Return found it all a plain Level, as far as they went, or could discern, from the highest Tree they could get upon : And my old Pilot, a Man of great Travel, Brother to the *Cassique Toparimaca* told me, that those were called the Plains of the *Sayma* ; and that the same Level reached to *Cumana*, and *Carracas* in the *West-Indies*, which are 120 Leagues to the North, and that there inhabited four principal Nations. The first were the *Sayma*, the next *Affawai*, the third and greatest the *Wikiri*, by whom *Pedro Hernandez de Serpa* before mentioned was overthrown, as he passed with three hundred Horse from *Cumana* towards *Oroonoko*, in his Enterprize of *Guiana* ; the fourth are called *Aroras*, and are as black as Negros, but have smooth Hair, and these are very valiant, or rather desperate People, and have the most strong Poison on their Arrows, and most dangerous of all Nations ; of which Poison I will speak somewhat, being a Digression not unnecessary.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, than to find out the true Remedies of these poisoned Arrows ; for besides the Mortality of the Wound they make, the Party shot indureth the most insufferable Torment in the World, and abideth a most ugly and lamentable Death, sometimes dying stark mad, some-

times

times their Bowels breaking out of their Bellies, and are presently discoloured, as black as Pitch, and so unsavory, as no Man can endure to cure, or to attend them: And it is more strange to know, that in all this Time there was never *Spaniard*, either by Gift or Torment that could attain to the true Knowledge of the Cure, although they have martyred and put to invented Torture I know not how many of them. But every one of these *Indians* know it not, no not one among Thousands, but their Southsayers and Priests, who do conceal it, and only teach it but from the Father to the Son.

Those Medicines which are vulgar, and serve for the ordinary Poison, are made of the Juice of a Root called *Tupera*: The same also quencheth marvellously the Heat of burning Fevers, and healeth inward Wounds, and broken Veins that bleed within the Body. But I was more beholden to the *Guianians* than any other, for *Antonio de Berreo* told me that he could never attain to the Knowledge thereof, and yet they taught me the best Way of healing as well thereof, as of all other Poisons. Some of the *Spaniards* have been cured in ordinary Wounds, of the common poisoned Arrows with the Juice of Garlick: But this is a general Rule for all Men that shall hereafter travel the *Indies* where poisoned Arrows are used, that they must abstain from Drink; for if they take any Liquor into their Body, as they shall be marvellously provoked thereunto by Drought, I say, if they drink before the Wound be dressed, or soon upon it, there is no Way with them but present Death.

And so I will return again to our Journey, which for this third Day we finished, and cast Anchor again near the Continent, on the left Hand between two Mountains, the one called *Aroami*, and the other *Aio*: I made no stay here but till Midnight, for I feared hourly lest any Rain should fall, and then it had been impossible to have gone any farther up, notwithstanding

standing that there is every Day a very strong Breeze, and easterly Wind. I deferred the Search of the Country on *Guiana* side, till my Return down the River. The next Day we sailed by a great Island, in the Middle of the River, called *Manoripano*; and as we walked a while on the Island, while the Galley got ahead of us, there came after us from the Main, a small *Cano* with seven or eight *Guianians* to invite us to anchor at their Port: but I deferred it till my Return; it was that *Cassique* to whom those *Nepoios* went, which came with us from the Town of *Toparimaca*: And so the fifth Day we reached as high up as the Province of *Arromaia*, the Country of *Morequito* whom *Berreio* executed, and anchored to the West of an Island called *Murrecotima*, ten Miles long and five broad: And that Night the *Cassique Aramiari*, (to whose Town we made our long and hungry Voyage out of the River of *Amana*) passed by us.

The next Day we arrived at the Port of *Morequito*, and anchored there, sending away one of our Pilots to seek the King of *Aromaia* Uncle to *Morequito*, slain by *Berreio* as aforesaid. The next Day following, before Noon, he came to us on Foot from his House, which was fourteen *English* Miles, (himself being 110 Years old) and returned on Foot the same Day, and with him many of the Borderers, with many Women and Children, that came to wonder at our Nation, and to bring us down Victual, which they did in great Plenty, as Venison, Pork, Hens, Chickens, Fowl, Fish, with divers Sorts of excellent Fruits, and Roots, and great Abundance of Pines, the Princess of Fruits, that grow under the Sun, especially those of *Guiana*. They brought us also Store of Bread, and of their Wine, and a Sort of Paraquitos, no bigger than Wrens, and of all Sorts both small and great: One of them gave me a Beast called by the *Spaniards* *Armadilla*, which they call *Cassacam*, which seemeth to be all barred over with small Plates, somewhat like to a *Rhinoceros*,

noceros, with a white Horn growing in his hinder Parts, as big as a great hunting Horn, which they use to wind instead of a Trumpet. *Monardus* writeth, that a little of the Powder of that Horn put into the Ear, cureth Deafness.

After this old King had rested a while in a little Tent that I caused to be set up, I began by my Interpreter to discourse with him of the Death of *Morequito* his Predecessor, and afterward of the *Spaniards*, and ere I went any farther I made him know the Cause of my coming thither, whose Servant I was, and that the Queen's Pleasure was, I should undertake the Voyage for their Defence, and to deliver them from the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, dilating at large (as I had done before to those of *Trinidado*) her Majesty's Greatness, her Justice, her Charity to all oppressed Nations, with as many of the rest of her Beauties and Virtues as either I could express, or they conceive; all which being with great Admiration attentively heard, and marvellously admired, I began to sound the old Man as touching *Guiana*, and the State thereof, what Sort of Commonealth it was, how governed, of what Strength and Policy, how far it extended, and what Nations were Friends or Enemies adjoining, and finally of the Distance, and Way to enter the same: He told me that himself and his People, with all those down the River towards the Sea, as far as *Emeria*, the Province of *Carapana*, were of *Guiana*, but that they called themselves *Oroonokoponi*, because they bordered the great River of *Oroonoko*, and that all the Nations between the River and those Mountains in Sight called *Wacarima*, were of the same Cast and Appellation: And that on the other side of those Mountains of *Wacarima* there was a large Plain (which after I discovered in my Return) called the Valley of *Amariocapana*, in all that Valley the People were also of the ancient *Guianians*. I asked what Nations those were which inhabited on the further Side of those Mountains, beyond the Valley of *Amariocapana*, he answered with a great Sigh (as a Man which had an inward Feeling of the Loss of his Country and Liberty,

Liberty, especially for that his eldest Son was slain in Battle on that Side of the Mountains, whom he most entirely loved,) that he remembered in his Father's Life-time when he was very old, and himself a young Man, that there came down into that large Valley of *Guiana*, a Nation from so far off as the Sun slept, (for such were his own Words,) with so great a Multitude as they could not be numbered nor resisted; and that they wore large Coats, and Hats of crimson Colour, which Colour he expressed, by shewing a Piece of red Wood, wherewith my Tent was supported, and that they were called *Oreiones*, and *Epurimeï*, those that had slain and rooted out so many of the ancient People as there were Leaves in the Wood upon all the Trees, and had now made themselves Lords of all, even to that Mountain Foot called *Curaa*, saving only of two Nations, the one called *Iwarawaqueri*, and the other *Cassipagotos*; and that in the last Battle fought between the *Epuremeï*, and the *Iwarawaqueri*, his eldest Son was chosen to carry to the Aid of the *Iwarawaqueri*, a great Troop of the *Oroonokoponi*, and was there slain, with all his People and Friends; and that he had now remaining but one Son. And farther told me, that those *Epuremeï* had built a great Town called *Macureguarai*, at the said Mountain Foot, at the Beginning of the great Plains of *Guiana*, which have no End: And that their Houses have many Rooms, one over the other, and that therein the great King of the *Oreiones* and *Epuremeï* kept three thousand Men to defend the Borders against them, and withal daily to invade and slay them: But that of late Years since the Christians offered to invade his Territories, and those Frontiers, they were all at Peace, and traded one with another, saving only the *Iwarawaqueri*, and those other Nations upon the Head of the River of *Caroli*, called *Cassipagotos*, which we afterwards discovered, each one holding the *Spaniard* for a common Enemy.

After he had answered thus far, he desired Leave to depart, saying that he had far to go; that he was old
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and weak, and was every Day called for by Death, which was also his own Phrase: I desired him to rest with us that Night; but I could not intreat him; but he told me, that at my Return from the Country above, he would again come to us, and in the mean Time provide for us the best he could, of all that his Country yielded: The same Night he returned to *Orocotona* his own Town, so as he went that Day 28 Miles, the Weather being very hot, the Country being situate between 4 and 5 Degrees of the *Equinoctial*. This *Topiawari* is held for the proudest and wisest of all the *Oroonokoponi*; and so he behaved himself towards me in all his Answers at my Return, as I marvelled to find a Man of that Gravity and Judgment, and of so good Discourse, that had no Help of Learning nor Breed.

The next Morning we also left the Port, and sailed Westward up the River, to view the famous River called *Caroli*, as well because it was marvellous of itself, as also for that I understood it led to the strongest Nations of all the Frontiers, that were Enemies to the *Epuromei*, which are Subjects to *Inga*, Emperor of *Guiana* and *Manoa*; and that Night we anchored at another Island called *Caiama*, of some five or six Miles in Length, and the next Day arrived at the Mouth of *Caroli*. When we were short of it as low or further down as the Port of *Morequito*, we heard the great Roar and Fall of the River, but when we came to enter with our Barge and Wherries, thinking to have gone up some forty Miles to the Nations of the *Cassipagotos*, we were not able with a Barge of eight Oars to row one Stone's Cast in an Hour; and yet the River is as broad as the Thames at *Wolwich*, and we tried both Sides, and the Middle, and every Part of the River, so as we encamped upon the Banks adjoining, and sent off our *Oroonokopone* (which came with us from *Morequito*) to give Knowledge to the Nations upon the River of our being there, and that we desired to see the Lords of *Canuria*, which dwelt within the Province upon that River,

River, making them know that we were Enemies to the *Spaniards*, (for it was on this River's Side that *Morquito* slew the Friar, and those nine *Spaniards* which came from *Manoa*, the City of *Inga*, and took from them 40000 Pesoes of Gold) so as the next Day there came down a Lord or *Cassique* called *Wanuretona*, with many People with him, and brought all Store of Provisions to entertain us, as the rest had done. And as I had before made my Coming known to *Topiawari*, so did I acquaint this *Cassique* therewith, and how I was sent by her Majesty for the Purpose aforesaid, and gathered also what I could of him touching the Estate of *Guiana*: And I found that those also of *Caroli* were not only Enemies to the *Spaniards* but most of all to the *Epuremei*, which abound in Gold; and by this *Wanuretona*, I had Knowledge that on the Head of this River were three mighty Nations, which were seated on a great Lake, from whence this River descended, and were called *Cassipagotos*, *Eparagotos*, and *Arawagotos*; and that all those either against the *Spaniards*, or the *Epuremei* would join with us; and that if we entered the Land over the Mountains of *Curaa*, we should satisfy ourselves with Gold and all other good Things: He told us farther of a Nation called *Iwarawaqueri* before spoken off, that held daily War with the *Epuremei* that inhabited *Macureguarai*, the first civil Town of *Guiana*, of the Subjects of *Inga* the Emperor.

Upon this River one Captain *George*, that I took with *Berreio*, told me there was a great silver Mine, and that it was near the Banks of the said River. But by this Time as well *Oroonoko*, *Caroli*, as all the rest of the Rivers were risen four or five Feet in Height, so as it was not possible, by the Strength of any Men, or with any Boat whatsoever, to row into the River against the Stream. I therefore sent Captain *Thyn*, Captain *Greenville*, my Nephew *John Gylbert*, my Cousin *Butshead Gorges*, Captain *Clarke*, and some thirty Shot more, to coast the River by Land, and to go to a Town
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some twenty Miles over the Valley called *Amnatapoi*; and if they found Guides there, to go farther towards the Mountain Foot to another great Town, called *Capurepana*, belonging to a *Cassique* called *Haaracoa* (that was a Nephew to old *Topiawari* King of *Arromaia*, our chiefest Friend) because this Town and Province of *Capurepana* adjoined to *Macureguarai*, which was the frontier Town of the Empire: And the mean while myself with Captain *Gifford*, Captain *Calfield*, *Edw. Hancock*, and some half a dozen Shot marched over Land to view the strange Overfalls of the River of *Caroli*, which roared so far of, and also to see the Plains adjoining, and the rest of the Province of *Canuri*: I sent also Captain *Whiddon*, *W. Connoke*, and some eight Shot with them, to see if they could find any mineral Stone along the River's Side. When we run to the Tops of the first Hills of the Plain adjoining to the River, we beheld that wonderful Breach of Waters, which ran down *Caroli*: And might from that Mountain see the River how it ran in three Parts, above twenty Miles of, and there appeared some ten or twelve Overfalls in Sight, every one as high over the other as a Church Tower, which fell with that Fury, that the Rebound of Waters made it seem, as if it had been all covered over with a great Shower of Rain: And in some Places we took it at the first for a Smoak that had risen over some great Town. For my own Part, I was well persuaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill Footman; but the rest were all so desirous to go near the strange Thunder of Waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till we came into the next Valley, where we might better discern the same. I never saw a more beautiful Country, nor more lively Prospects, Hills so raised here and there over the Vallies, the River winding into divers Branches, the Plains adjoining without Bush or Stubble, all fair green Grass, the Ground of hard Sand easy to march on, either for Horse or Foot, the Deer crossing
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in every Path, the Birds towards the Evening singing on every Tree with a thousand several Tunes, Cranes and Herons of White, Crimson, and Carnation perching on the River's Side, the Air fresh with a gentle easterly Wind, and every Stone that we stooped to take up, promised either Gold or Silver by his Complexion. Your Lordship shall see of many Sorts, and I hope some of them cannot be bettered under the Sun; and yet we had no Means but with our Daggers and Fingers to tear them out here and there, the Rocks being most hard of that mineral Spar aforesaid, and is like a Flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and besides the Veins lie a Fathom or two deep in the Rocks. But we wanted all things requisite save only our Desires, and good Will to have performed more, if it had pleased God. To be short, when both our Companies returned, each of them brought also several Sorts of Stones that appeared very fair, but were such as they found loose on the Ground, and were for the most Part but coloured, and had not any Gold fixed in them; yet such as had no Judgment or Experience kept all that glittered, and would not be persuaded but it was rich, because of the Lustre, and brought of those, and of *Marquesite* withal, from *Trinidado*, and have delivered of those Stones to be tried in many Places, and have thereby bred an Opinion that all the rest is of the same: Yet some of these Stones I shewed afterward to a *Spaniard* of the *Caraccas*, who told me that it was *El Madre deloro*, and that the Mine was farther in the Ground. But it shall be found a weak Policy in me, either to betray myself, or my Country with Imaginations, neither am I so far in Love with that Lodging, Watching, Care, Peril, Diseases, ill Savours, bad Fare, and many other Mischiefs that accompany these Voyages, as to woo my self again into any of them, were I not assured that the Sun covereth not so much Riches in any Part of the Earth. Captain *Whiddon*, and our Surgeon *Nich. Millechap* brought me a Kind of Stones like
Sapphires,

Sapphires: What they may prove I know not; I shewed them to some of the *Oroonokoponi*, and they promised to bring me to a Mountain, that had of them very large Pieces growing Diamond wise: Whether it be Crytal of the Mountain, *Bristol* Diamond, or *Sapphire*, I do not yet know; but I hope the best; sure I am, that the Place is as likely as those from whence all the rich Stones are brought, and in the same Height, or very near. On the left Hand of this River *Caroli* are seated those Nations which are called *Iwarawakeri*, before remembred, which are Enemies to the *Epuremei*: And on the Head of it, adjoining to the great Lake *Cassipa*, are situate those other Nations which also resist *Inga*, and the *Epuremei*, called *Cassipagotos*, *Eparegotos*, and *Arrawagotos*. I farther understood that this Lake of *Cassipa* is so large, as it is above one Day's Journey for one of their *Cano's* to cross, which may be some 40 Miles; and that therein fall divers Rivers; and that great store of Grains of Gold are found in the Summer Time, when the Lake falleth by the Banks, in those Branches. There is also another goodly River beyond *Caroli*, which is called *Arvi*, which also runneth through the Lake *Cassipa*, and falleth into *Oroonoko* farther West, making all that Land between *Caroli* and *Arvi* an Island, which is likewise a most beautiful Country. Next unto *Arvi* there are two Rivers *Atoica* and *Caora*, and on that Branch which is called *Caora* are a Nation of People, whose Heads appear not above their Shoulders; which, though it may be thought a meer Fable, yet for mine own Part I am resolved it is true, because every Child in the Provinces of *Arromaia* and *Canuri* affirm the same: They are called *Ewaipanoma*: They are reported to have their Eyes in their Shoulders, and their Mouths in the middle of their Breasts, and that a long train of Hair groweth backward between their Shoulders. The Son of *Topiarwarri*, which I brought with me into *England*, told me, that they are the most mighty Men of

all the Land, and use Bows, Arrows, and Clubs thrice as big as any of *Guiana*, or of the *Oroonokoponi*, and that one of the *Iwarawakeri* took a Prisoner of them the Year before our Arrival there, and brought him into the Borders of *Arromaia*, his Father's Country: And farther, when I seemed to doubt of it, he told me, that it was no Wonder among them; but that they were as great a Nation, and as common, as any other in all the Provinces, and had of late Years slain many Hundreds of his Father's People, and of other Nations their Neighbours. But it was not my Chance to hear of them till I was come away; and if I had but spoken one Word of it while I was there, I might have brought one of them with me, to put the Matter out of Doubt. Such a Nation was written of by *Maundeville*, whose Reports were held for Fables many Years; and yet since the *East Indies* were discovered, we find his Relations true of such Things as heretofore were held incredible: Whether it be true or no, the Matter is not great, neither can there be any Profit in the Imagination; for mine own Part I saw them not, but I am resolved, that so many People did not all combine, or forethink, to make the Report.

When I came to *Cumana*, in the *West Indies*, afterwards, by Chance I spoke with a *Spaniard* dwelling not far from thence, a Man of great Travel; and after he knew that I had been in *Guiana*, and so far directly West as *Caroli*, the first Question he asked me was, whether I had seen any of the *Ewaipanona*, which are those without Heads: Who being esteemed a most honest Man of his Word, and in all things else, told me, that he had seen many of them: I may not name him, because it may be for his Disadvantage; but he is well known to Monsieur *Mucheron's* Sons of *London*, and to *Peter Mucheron* Merchant, of the *Flemish* Ship that was there in Trade, who also heard what he avowed to be true of those People. The fourth River to the West of *Caroli* is *Casnero*, which falleth into *Oroonoko* on
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this Side of *Amapia*; and that River is greater than *Danubius*, or any of *Europe*: it riseth on the South of *Guiana* from the Mountains which divide *Guiana* from *Amazones*; and I think it to be navigable many hundred Miles: But we had no Time, Means, nor Season of the Year, to search those Rivers for the Causes afore said, the Winter being come upon us, although the Winter and Summer, as touching Cold and Heat differ not, neither do the Trees ever sensibly loose their Leaves, but have always Fruit either ripe or green, and most of them both Blossoms, Leaves, ripe Fruit, and green, at one Time: but their Winter only consisteth of terrible Rains, and Overflowings of the Rivers, with many great Storms and Gusts, Thunder, and Lightnings, of which we had our fill ere we returned. On the North Side, the first River that falleth into *Oroonoko* is *Cari*; beyond it on the same Side is the River of *Limo*: between these two is a great Nation of *Canibals*, and their chief Town beareth the Name of the River, and is called *Acamacari*: As this Town is a continual Market of Women for 3 or 4 Hatchets a piece, they are bought by the *Arwacas*, and by them sold into the *West-Indies*. To the West of *Limo* is the River *Pao*, beyond it *Caturi*, beyond that *Voari*, and *Capuri*, which falleth out of the great River of *Meta*, by which *Berreio* descended from *Nuevo reyno de Granada*. To the Westward of *Capuri* is the Province of *Amapaia*, where *Berreio* wintered, and had so many of his People poisoned with the tawny Water of the Marshes of the *Anebas*. Above *Amapaia*, toward *Nuevo reyno* fall in *Meta*, *Pato*, and *Cassanar*: To the West of these, towards the Provinces of the *Ashaguas* and *Catetios*, are the Rivers of *Beta*, *Dawney*, and *Ubarrow*; and towards the Frontier of *Peru* are the Provinces of *Thomebamba*, and *Caximalta*: adjoining to *Quito*, in the North of *Peru*, are the Rivers of *Guiacar* and *Goavar*: And on the other Side of the said Mountains the River of *Papamene*, which descendeth into *Maragnon*, or *Amazones*,

zones, passing through the Province of the *Mutylones*, where *Don Pedro de Osua*, who was slain by the Traitor *Agiri*, before rehearsed, built his Brigantines, when he sought *Guiana* by the Way of *Amazones*. Between *Dawney* and *Beta lieth* a famous Island, in *Oroonoko*, now called *Baraquan*, (for above *Meta* it is not known by the Name of *Oroonoko*) which is called *Atbule*; beyond which Ships of Burden cannot pass by Reason of a most forcible Overfall, and Current of Waters: But in the Eddy all smaller Vessels may be drawn, even to *Peru* itself: But to speak of more of these Rivers without the Description, were but tedious; and therefore I will leave the rest to the Description. This River of *Oroonoko* is navigable for Ships little less than 1000 Miles, and for lesser Vessels near 2000. By it (as aforesaid) *Peru*, *Nuevo reyno*, and *Popaian*, may be invaded: It also leadeth to that great Empire of *Inga*, and to the Provinces of *Amapia*, and *Anebas*, which abound in Gold: His Branches of *Cosnero*, *Manta*, *Caora* descend from the Middle-Land and Valley, which lieth between the Eastern Province of *Peru* and *Guiana*; and it falls into the Sea between *Maragnon* and *Trinidado*, in two Degrees and a half: All which your Honours shall better perceive in the general Description of *Guiana*, *Peru*, *Nuevo reyno*, the Kingdom of *Popayan*, and *Roidas*, with the Province of *Vensuello*, to the Bay of *Uraba*, behind *Cartagena*, Westward; and to *Amazones* Southward. While we lay at Anchor on the Coast of *Canurt*, and had taken Knowledge of all the Nations upon the Head and Branches of this River, and had found out so many several People, which were Enemies to the *Epuremei*, and the new Conquerors; I thought it Time lost to linger any longer in that Place, especially for that the Fury of *Oroonoko* began daily to threaten us with Dangers in our Return; for no half Day passed, but the River began to rage and overflow very fearfully, and the Rains came down in terrible Showers, and Gusts in great Abundance: And

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withall, our Men began to cry out for Want of Shift ; for no Man had Place to bestow any other Apparel than that which he wore on his Back, and that was thoroughly washed on his Body, for the most Part ten Times in one Day : And we had now been well near a Month, every Day passing to the Westward, farther and farther from our Ships. We therefore turned towards the East, and spent the rest of the Time in discovering the River towards the Sea, which we had not yet viewed, and which was most material. The next Day following we left the Mouth of *Caroli*, and arrived again at the Port of *Morequito*, where we were before (for passing down the Stream we went without Labour, and against the Wind, little less than 100 Miles a Day :) As soon as I came to Anchor, I sent away one for old *Topiawari*, with whom I much desired to have farther Conference; and also to deal with him for some one of his Country, to bring with us into *England*, as well to learn the Language, as to confer withall by the way, (the time being now spent of any longer Stay there) within three Hours after my Messenger came to him, he arrived also, and with him such a Rabble of all Sorts of People, and every one laden with somewhat, as if it had been a great Market or Fair in *England*: And our hungry Companies clustered thick and threefold among their Baskets, every one laying Hand on what he liked. After he had rested a while in my Tent, I shut out all but ourselves, and my Interpreter; and told him, that I knew that both the *Eupremei* and the *Spaniards* were Enemies to him, his Country, and Nations: That the one had conquered *Guiana* already, and that the other sought to regain the same from them both: And therefore I desired him to instruct me what he could, both of the Passage into the golden Parts of *Guiana*, and to the civil Towns and apparelled People of *Inga*. He gave me an Answer to this Effect: First, that he did not perceive that I meant to go onward towards the City of *Manoa*; for

neither the Time of the Year served, neither could he perceive any sufficient Numbers for such an Enterprize: And if I did, I was sure with all my Company to be buried there; for that the Emperor was of that Strength, as that many times so many Men more were too few: Besides, he gave me this good Counsel, and advised me to hold it in Mind (as for himself he knew, he could not live till my return) that I should not offer by any Means hereafter to invade the strong Parts of *Guiana*, without the Help of all those Nations which were also their Enemies: For that it was impossible without those, either to be conducted, to be victualled, or to have ought carried with us, our People not being able to indure the March in so great Heat, and Travel, unless the Borderers gave them Help, to carry with them both their Meat and Furniture: For he remembered, that in the Plains of *Macuregurai* 300 *Spaniards* were overthrown, who were tired out, and had none of the Borderers to their Friends; but meeting their Enemies, as they passed the Frontier, were invironed on all Sides, and the People setting the long dry Grass on Fire, smothered them so as they had no Breath to fight, nor could discern their Enemies, for the great Smoak. He told me farther, that four Days Journey from his own Town was *Macureguarai*, and that those were the next, and nearest of the Subjects of *Inga*, and of the *Epuremei*, and the first Town of apparrelled and rich People; and that all those Plates of Gold which were scattered among the Borderers, and carried to other Nations far and near, came from the said *Macureguarai*, and were there made; but that those of the Land within, were far finer, and were fashioned after the Image of Men, Beasts, Birds, and Fishes. I asked him whether he thought that those Companies that I had there with me, were sufficient to take that Town or no, he told me that he thought they were. I then asked him, whether he would assist me with Guides, and some Companies of his People to join with us? He answered, that he would go himself with all the Borderers, if the Rivers did remain

remain fordable ; upon this Condition, that I would leave with him till my Return again fifty Soldiers, which he undertook to victual : I answered, that I had not above fifty good Men in all there, the rest were Labourers and Rowers ; and that I had no Provision to leave with them of Powder, Shot, Apparel, or ought else ; and that without those Things necessary for their Defence, they should be in Danger of the *Spaniards*, in my Absence, who I knew would use the same Measure towards mine, that I offered them at *Trinidado* : And although, upon the Motion, Captain *Calfeilde*, Captain *Greenville*, my Nephew *John Gilbert*, and divers others were desirous to stay, yet I was resolved that they must needs have perished ; for *Berreio* expected daily a Supply out of *Spain*, and looked also hourly for his Son to come down from *Nuevo reyno de Granada*, with many Horse and Foot ; and had also in *Valentia* in the *Caraccas*, 200 Horse ready to march ; and I could not have spared above forty, and had not any Store at all of Powder, Lead, or Match to have left with them, nor any other Provision, either Spade, Pickax, or ought else to have fortified withal. When I had given him Reason that I could not at this Time leave him such a Company, he then desired me to forbear him ; and his Country for that Time ; for he assured me that I should be no sooner three Days from the Coast, but those *Epuremei* would invade him, and destroy all the Remains of his People and Friends, if he should any Way either guide us, or assist us against them. He further alledged, that the *Spaniards* sought his Death, and as they had already murdered his Nephew *Morequito*, Lord of that Province, so they had him seventeen Days in a Chain before he was King of the Country, and led him like a Dog from Place to Place, until he had paid 100 Plates of Gold, and divers Chains of spleen Stones for his Ransom ; and now since he became Owner of that Province that they had many Times laid wait to take him, and that they would be now more vehement when they should un-

derstand of his Conference with the *English*; and because, said he, they would the better displant me, if they cannot lay Hands on me, they have gotten a Nephew of mine, called *Eparacano*, whom they have christened *Don Ivan*, and his Son *Don Pedro*, whom they have also apparrelled and armed, by whom they seek to make a Party against me, in mine own Country: He also hath taken to Wife one *Loviana*, of a strong Family, which are my Borderers and Neighbours: And myself being now old, and in the Hands of Death, am not able to travel nor to shift, as when I was of younger Years: He therefore prayed us to defer it till the next Year, when he would undertake to draw in all the Borderers to serve us, and then also it would be more seasonable to travel; for at this Time of the Year, we should not be able to pass any River, the Waters were and would be so grown ere our Return. He farther told me, that I could not desire so much to invade *Macureguari*, and the rest of *Guiana*, but that the Borderers would be more vehement than I; for he yielded for a chief Cause, that in the Wars with the *Epuremei*, they were spoiled of their Women, and that their Wives and Daughters were taken from them; so as for their own Parts they desired nothing of the Gold or Treasure for their Labors, but only to recover Women from the *Epuremei*: For he farther complained very sadly (as if it had been a Matter of great Consequence) that whereas they were wont to have ten or twelve Wives, they were now inforced to content themselves with three or four, and that the Lords of the *Epuremei* had 50 or 100. And in Truth they were more for Women, then either for Gold or Dominion. For the Lords of Countries desire many Children of their own Bodies, to increase their Races and Kindreds, for in those consist their greatest Trust and Strength. Divers of his Followers afterwards desired me to make haste again, that they might sack the *Epuremei*; and I asked them of what? They answered, of their Women for us, and their Gold for you: For
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the Hope of many of those Women they more desire the War, than either for Gold, or for the Recovery of their ancient Territories. For what between the Subjects of *Inga*, and the *Spaniards*, those Frontiers are grown thin of People, and also great Numbers are fled to other Nations farther off, for Fear of the *Spaniards*. After I received this Answer of the old Man, we fell into Consideration, whether it had been of better Advice to have entered *Macureguarai*, and to have begun a War upon *Inga* at this Time, yea or no, if the Time of the Year, and all Things else had sorted. For mine own Part (as we were not able to march it for the Rivers, neither had any such Strength as was requisite, and durst not abide the coming of the Winter, or to tarry any longer from our Ships) I thought it very evil Counsel to have attempted it at that Time, although the Desire of Gold will answer many Objections: But it would have been in my Opinion an utter Overthrow to the Enterprize, if the same should be hereafter by her Majesty attempted: For then (whereas now they have heard we were Enemies to the *Spaniards* and were sent by her Majesty to relieve them) they would as good cheap have joined with the *Spaniards* at our Return, as to have yielded unto us, when they had proved that we came both for one Errand; and that both sought but to sack and spoil them: But as yet our Desire of Gold, or our Purpose of Invasion, is not known unto those of the Empire: And it is likely that if her Majesty undertake the Enterprize, they will rather submit themselves to her Obedience, than to the *Spaniards*, of whose Cruelty both themselves and the Borderers have already tasted: And therefore till I had known her Majesty's Pleasure, I would rather have lost the Sack of one or two Towns (although they might have been very profitable) than to have defaced or endangered the future Hope of so many Millions; and the great, good, and rich Trade which *England* may be possessed off thereby. I am assured now, that
they

they will all die, even to the last Man, against the *Spaniards*, in Hope of our Succor and Return : Where- as otherwise, if I had either laid Hands on the Borderers, or ransomed the Lords as *Berreio* did, or invaded the Subjects of *Inga* ; I know all had been lost for hereafter. After that I had resolved *Topiawari* Lord of *Aromia*, that I could not at this Time leave with him the Companies he desired, and that I was contented to forbear the Enterprize against the *Epuremei* till the next Year, he freely gave me his only Son to take with me into *England* ; and hoped, that though he himself had but a short Time to live, yet that by our Means his Son should be established after his Death : And I left with him one *Francis Sparrow*, a Servant of Captain *Gifford*, (who was desirous to tarry, and could describe a Country with his Pen) and a Boy of mine, called *Hugh Goodwin*, to learn the Language. I after asked the Manner how the *Epuremei* wrought those Plates of Gold, and how they could melt it out of the Stone ; he told me that the most of the Gold which they made in Plates and Images was not severed from the Stone ; but that on the Lake of *Manoa*, and in a Multitude of other Rivers, they gathered it in Grains of perfect Gold, and in Pieces as big as small Stones ; and that they put to it a Part of Copper, otherwise they could not work it, and that they used a great earthen Pot, with Holes round about it ; and when they had mingled the Gold and Copper together, they fastened Canes to the Holes, and so with the Breath of Men they increased the Fire till the Mettle ran ; and then they cast it into Moulds of Stone and Clay, and so make those Plates and Images. I have sent your Honours, of two Sorts such as I could by chance recover, more to shew the Manner of them, than for the Value : For I did not in any Sort make my Desire of Gold known, because I had neither Time, nor Power to have a greater Quantity. I gave among them many more Pieces of Gold than I received, of the new Money

Money of twenty Shillings, with her Majesty's Picture, to wear, with Promise that they would become her Servants thenceforth.

I have also sent your Honours of the Ore, whereof I know some is as rich as the Earth yieldeth any; of which I know there is sufficient, if nothing else were to be hoped for. But besides that we were not able to tarry and search the Hills, so we had neither Pioneers, Bars, Sledges, nor Wedges of Iron, to break the Ground, without which there is no working in Mines: But we saw all the Hills with Stones of the Colour of Gold and Silver, and we tried them to be no *Marquesite*; and therefore such as the *Spaniards* call *El Madre del oro*, which is an undoubted Assurance of the general Abundance; and myself saw the Outside of many Mines of the white Spar, which I know to be the same that all covet in this World, and of those more than I will speak of.

Having learned what I could in *Canuri* and *Aromaia*, and received a faithful Promise of the principallest of those Provinces to become Servants to her Majesty, and to resist the *Spaniards*, if they made any Attempt in our Absence, and that they would draw in the Nations about the Lake of *Cassipa*, and those *Iwarawakeri*; I then parted from old *Topiawari*, and received his Son for a Pledge between us, and left with him two of ours, as aforesaid: To *Francis Sparrow* I gave Instructions to travel to *Macuregnorai*, with such Merchandizes as I left with him, thereby to learn the Place, and if it were possible to go on, to the great City of *Manoa*: Which being done, we weighed Anchor, and coasted the River on *Guiana* Side, because we came up on the North Side, by the Lawns of the *Saima* and *Wikiri*.

There came with us from *Aromaia*, a *Cassique* called *Putyma*, that commanded the Province of *Warapana*, (which *Putyma* slew the nine *Spaniards* upon *Caroli* before spoken of) who desired us to rest at the Port of his Country, promising to bring us to a Mountain

tain adjoining to his Town, that had Stones of the Colour of Gold; which he performed: And after we had rested there one Night, I went myself in the Morning, with most of the Gentlemen of my Company, over Land, towards the said Mountain, marching by a River's Side called *Mano*, leaving on the right Hand a Town called *Tuteritona*, standing in the Province of *Tarracoa*, of which *Wariaaremagoto* is principal: Beyond it lieth another Town, towards the South, in the Valley of *Amariocapana*, which beareth the Name of the said Valley, whose Plains stretch themselves some sixty Miles in Length, East and West, as fair Ground, and as beautiful Fields, as any Man hath ever seen, with divers Copses scattered here and there by the River's Side, and all as full of Deer as any Forest or Park in *England*; and in every Lake and River the like Abundance of Fish and Fowl, of which *Icraparragota* is Lord.

From the River of *Mana* we cross'd another River, in the said beautiful Valley, called *Oiana*, and rested ourselves by a clear Lake, which lay in the Middle of the said *Oiana*; and one of our Guides kindling us Fire with two Sticks, we staid a while to dry our Shirts, which with the Heat hung very wet and heavy on our Shoulders. Afterwards we sought the Ford to pass over towards the Mountain called *Iconuri*, where *Putyma* foretold us of the Mine. In this Lake we saw one of the great Fishes, as big as a Wine-Pipe, which they call *Manati*, and is most excellent and wholesome Meat. But after I perceived, that to pass the said River would require half a Day's March more, I was not able myself to indure it; and therefore I sent Captain *Keymis*, with six Shot, to go on, and gave him Order not to return to the Port of *Putyma*, which is called *Chiparepare*; but to take leisure, and to march down the said Valley, as far as a River called *Cumaca*, where I promised to meet him again, (*Putyma* himself promising also to be his Guide,) and as they marched, they left the Towns of *Emparepana*, and *Copurepana*, on the
right

right Hand, and marched from *Putyma's* House, down the said Valley of *Amariocopana*; and we returning the same Day to the River's Side, saw by the Way many Rocks, like unto Gold Ore, and on the left Hand, a round Mountain, which consisted of mineral Stone.

From hence we rowed down the Stream, coasting the Province of *Parino*: As for the Branches of Rivers, which I overpass in this Discourse, those shall be better expressed in the Description, with the Mountains of *Aio*, *Ara*, and the rest, which are situate in the Provinces of *Parino* and *Carricurina*. When we were come as far down as the Land called *Arriacora*, (where *Oroonoko* divideth itself into three great Branches, each of them being most goodly Rivers,) I sent away Captain *Henry Thyn*, and Captain *Greenville* with the Galley, the nearest Way, and took with me Captain *Gifford*, Captain *Calfeild*, *Edward Porter*, and Captain *Eynos*, with mine own Barg, and the two Wherries, and went down that Branch of *Oroonoko*, which is called *Cararoopana*, which leadeth towards *Emeria*, the Province of *Carapana*, and towards the East Sea, as well to find out Captain *Keymis*, whom I had sent over Land, as also to acquaint myself with *Carapana*, who is one of the greatest of all the Lords of the *Oroonokoponi*: And when we came to the River of *Cumaca* (to which *Putyma* promised to conduct Captain *Keymis*) I left Captain *Eynos* and Master *Porter*, in the said River, to expect his coming, and the rest of us rowed down the Stream towards *Emeria*.

In this Branch, called *Cararoopana*, were also many goodly Islands, some of six Miles long, some of ten, and some of twenty. When it grew towards Sun set, we entered a Branch of a River that fell into *Oroonoko*, called *Winicapora*, where I was informed of the Mountain of Crystal; to which, in Truth, for the Length of the Way, and the evil Season of the Year, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer upon the Journey: We saw it far off and it appeared like a white Church Tower,

Tower, of an exceeding Height: There falleth over it a mighty River, which toucheth no part of the Side of the Mountain, but rusheth over the Top of it, and falleth to the Ground, with a terrible Noise and Clamour as if a thousand great Bells were knocked one against another. I think there is not in the World so strange an Overfall, nor so wonderful to behold: *Berreio* told me, that it hath Diamonds and other precious Stones on it, and that they shined very far off: But what it hath I know not, neither durst he or any of his Men ascend to the Top of the said Mountain, those People adjoining being his Enemies (as they were) and the Way to it so impassable.

Upon this River of *Winecapora* we rested a while, and from thence marched into the Country to a Town called after the Name of the River, whereof the chief was one *Timitwara*, who also offered to conduct me to the Top of the said Mountain, called *Wacarima*: But when we came in first to the House of the said *Timitwara*, being upon one of their Feast-Days, we found them all as drunk as Beggars, and the Pots walking from one to another, without rest: We that were weary, and hot with marching, were glad of the Plenty, though a small Quantity satisfied us, their Drink being very strong and heady, and so rested ourselves a while; after we had fed, we drew ourselves back to our Boats, upon the River; and there came to us all the Lords of the Country, with all such kind of Victual as the Place yielded, and with their delicate Wine of *Pinas*, and with abundance of Hens, and other Provisions, and of those Stones which we call Spleen-stones. We understood by these Chieftains of *Winicapora*, that their Lord *Carapana* was departed from *Emeria* which was now in Sight, and that he was fled to *Cairamo*, adjoining to the Mountains of *Guiana*, over the Valley called *Amariocopana*; being persuaded by those ten *Spaniards* which lay at
his

his House, that we would destroy him and his Country.

But after these *Cassiqui* of *Winicapora* and *Saporatona*, his Followers, perceived our Purpose, and saw that we came as Enemies to the *Spaniards* only, and had not so much as harmed any of those Nations, no though we found them to be of the *Spaniards* own Servants, they assured us that *Carapana* would be as ready to serve us, as any of the Lords of the Provinces which we had passed; and that he durst do no other till this Day but entertain the *Spaniards*, his Country lying so directly in their Way, and the next of all other to any Entrance that should be made in *Guiana* on that Side.

And they farther assured us, that it was not for Fear of our coming that he was removed, but to be acquitted of those *Spaniards*, or any other, that should come hereafter; for the Province of *Cairoma* is situate at the Mountain Foot, which divideth the Plains of *Guiana* from the Countries of *Oroonokoponi*: By Means whereof if any should come in our Absence into his Towns, he would slip over the Mountains into the Plains of *Guiana* among the *Epuremei*, where the *Spaniards* durst not follow him without great Force.

But in my Opinion, or rather I assure myself, that *Carapana* (being a notable wise and subtle Fellow, a Man of one hundred Years of Age, and therefore of great Experience) is removed, to look on, and if he find that we return strong, he will be ours, if not, he will excuse his Departure to the *Spaniards*, and say it was for Fear of our coming.

We therefore thought it bootless to row so far down the Stream, or to seek any farther for this old Fox: And therefore from the River of *Waricapana* (which lieth at the Entrance of *Emeria*,) we turned again, and left to the Eastward those four Rivers which fall from out the Mountains of *Emeria* into *Oroonoko*, which are *Waracapari*, *Coirama*, *Akaniri*, and *Iparoma*: Below those

those four are also these Branches and Mouths of *Oroonoko*, which fall into the East Sea, whereof the first is *Araturi*, the next *Amacura*, the third *Barima*, the fourth *Wana*, the fifth *Moroca*, the sixth *Paroma*, the last *Wymi*: Beyond them, there fall out of the Land between *Oroonoko* and *Amazones* fourteen Rivers, which I forbear to name, inhabited by the *Arwacas* and *Cannibals*.

It is now Time to return towards the North ; and we found it a wearisome Way back, from the Borders of *Emeria*, to recover up again to the Head of the River *Carerupana*, by which we descended, and where we parted from the Galley, which I directed to take the next Way to the Port of *Toparimaca*, by which we entered first.

All the Night it was stormy and dark, and full of Thunder and great Showers, so as we were driven to keep close by the Banks in our small Boats, being all heartily afraid both of the Billow and terrible Current of the River. By the next Morning we recovered the Mouth of the River of *Cumaca*, where we left Captain *Eynus* and *Edward Porter*, to attend the coming of Captain *Keymis* over Land: But when we entered the same, they had heard no News of his Arrival, which bred in us a great Doubt what might become of him: I rowed up a League or two farther into the River, shooting off Pieces all the Way, that he might know of our being there: And the next Morning we heard them answer us also with a Piece: We took them aboard us, and took our Leave of *Putyma* their Guide, who of all others most lamented our Departure, and offered to send his Son with us into *England*, if we could have staid till he had sent back to his Town: But our Hearts were cold to behold the great Rage and Increase of *Oroonoko*, and therefore departed, and turned toward the West, till we had recovered the parting of the three Branches aforesaid, that we might put down the Stream after the Galley.

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The next Day we landed on the Island of *Affapana*, (which divideth the River from that Branch by which we went down to *Emeria*) and there feasted ourselves with that Beast which is called *Armadilla*, presented unto us before at *Winicapora*; and the Day following we recovered the Galley at Anchor at the Port of *Toparimaca*, and the same Evening departed with very foul Weather and terrible Thunder and Showers, for the Winter was come on very far: The best was, we went no less than 100 Miles a Day, down the River: But by the Way we entered, it was impossible to return; for that the River of *Amana*, being in the Bottom of the Bay of *Guanipa*, cannot be sailed back by any Means, both the Breeze and Current of the Sea were so forcible; and therefore we followed a Branch of *Oroonoko* called *Capuri*, which entered into the Sea Eastward of our Ships, to the End we might bear with them before the Wind; and it was not without Need, for we had by that Way as much to cross of the main Sea, after we came to the River's Mouth as between *Gravelin* and *Dover*, in such Boats as your Honours have heard.

To speak of what past Homeward were tedious, either to describe or name any of the Rivers, Islands, or Villages of the *Tivitivas*, which dwell on Trees; we will leave all those to the general Map: And to be short, when we were arrived at the Sea Side then grew our greatest Doubt, and the bitterest of all our Journey forepassed; for I protest before God, that we were in a most desperate Estate: For the same Night which we anchored in the Mouth of the River of *Capuri*, where it falleth into the Sea, there arose a mighty Storm, and the River's Mouth was at least a League broad, so as we ran before Night close under the Land with our small Boats, and brought the Galley as near as we could, but she had as much ado to live as could be, and there wanted little of her sinking, and all those in her: For mine own Part, I confess, I was

very doubtful which Way to take, either to go over in the pestered Galley, there being but six Foot Water over the Sands, for two Leagues together, and that also in the Channel, and she drew five; or to adventure in so great a Billow, and in so doubtful Weather, to cross the Seas in my Barge. The longer we tarried the worse it was; and therefore I took Captain *Gifford*, Captain *Calfeild*, and my Cousin *Greenville*, into my Barge, and after it cleared up, about Midnight we put ourselves to God's keeping, and thrust out into the Sea, leaving the Galley at Anchor, who durst not adventure but by Day-light: And so being all very sober and melancholy, one faintly chearing another to shew Courage, it pleased God that the next Day about nine of the Clock, we descried the Island of *Trinidado*, and steering for the nearest Part of it, we kept the Shore till we came to *Curiapan*, where we found our Ships at Anchor, than which there was never to us a more joyful Sight.

Now that it hath pleased God to send us safe to our Ships, it is Time to leave *Guiana* to the Sun, whom they worship, and steer away towards the North: I will therefore in a few Words finish the Discovery thereof. Of the several Nations which we found upon this Discovery I will once again make Repetition, and how they are affected. At our first Entrance into *Amana*, which is one of the Outlets of *Oroonoko*, we left on the right Hand of us in the Bottom of the Bay, lying directly against *Trinidado*, a Nation of inhuman *Canibals*, which inhabit the Rivers of *Guanipa* and *Berbeese*; in the same Bay there is also a third River which is called *Areo*, which riseth on *Paria* Side towards *Cumana*, and that River is inhabited with the *Wikiri*, whose chief Town upon the said River is *Sayma*: In this Bay there are no more Rivers but these three before rehearsed, and the four Branches of *Amana*; all which in the Winter thrust so great abundance of Water into the Sea, as the same is taken up fresh, two or three Leagues

Leagues from the Land. In the Passage towards *Guiana*, (that is, in all those Lands which the eight Branches of *Oroonoko* fashion into Islands,) there are but one Sort of People, called *Tivitivas*, but of two Casts, as they term them, the one called *Ciazani*, the other *Waraweeti*, and those war one with the other.

On the hithermost Part of *Oroonoko*, as at *Toparimaca*, and *Winicapora*, those are of a Nation called *Nepoios*, and are of the Followers of *Carapana*, Lord of *Emeria*. Those between *Winicapora* and the Port of *Morequito*, which standeth in *Aromaia*, and all those in the Valley of *Amariocopana* are called *Oroonokoponi*, and did obey *Morequito*, and are now Followers of *Topiawari*. Upon the River of *Caroli* are the *Canuri*, which are governed by a Woman (who is Inheritrix of that Province) who came far off to see our Nation, and asked me divers Questions of her Majesty, being much delighted with the Discourse of her Majesty's Greatness, and wondering at such Reports as we truly made of her Highness's many Virtues. And upon the Head of *Caroli*, and on the Lake of *Cassipa*, are the three strong Nations of the *Cassipagotos*. Right South into the Land are the *Capurepani*, and *Emparepani*, and beyond those adjoining to *Macureguarai*, (the first City of *Inga*,) are the *Iwarawakeri*: All these are professed Enemies to the *Spaniards*, and to the rich *Epuremei* also. To the West of *Caroli* are divers Nations of *Canibals*, and of those *Ewaipanoma*, without Heads. Directly West are the *Amapias* and *Anebas*, which are also marvellous rich in Gold. The rest towards *Peru* we will omit. On the North of *Oroonoko*, between it and the West-Indies are the *Wikiri*, *Sami*, and the rest before spoken of, all mortal Enemies to the *Spaniards*. On the South Side of the main Mouth of *Oroonoko*, are the *Arwacas*: And beyond them the *Canibals*. And to the South of them the *Amazons*.

To make mention of the several Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fruits, Flowers, Gums, sweet Woods, and of their

several Religions and Customs, would for the first require as many Volumes as those of *Gesnerus*, and for the rest another Bundle of Decades. The Religion of the *Epuremei* is the same which the *Ingas*, Emperors of *Peru* used, which may be read in *Cieca*, and other *Spanish* Stories, how they believe the Immortality of the Soul, worship the Sun, and bury with them alive their best beloved Wives and Treasure, as they likewise do in *Pegu* in the *East-Indies*, and other Places. The *Oroonokoponi* bury not their Wives with them, but their Jewels, hoping to enjoy them again. The *Arwacas* dry the Bones of their Lords, and their Wives and Friends drink them in Powder. In the Graves of the *Peruvians*, the *Spaniards* found their greatest Abundance of Treasure: The like also is to be found among these People in every Province. They have all many Wives, and the Lords five fold to the common Sort: Their Wives never eat with their Husbands, nor among the Men, but serve their Husbands at Meals, and afterwards feed by themselves. Those that are past their younger Years, make all their Bread and Drink, and work their Cotton Beds, and do all else of Service and Labour, for the Men do nothing but hunt, fish, play, and drink, when they are out of the Wars.

I will enter no further into Discourse of their Manners, Laws and Customs: And because I have not myself seen the Cities of *Inga*, I cannot avow on my Credit what I have heard, although it be very likely, that the Emperor *Inga* hath built and erected as magnificent Palaces in *Guiana* as his Ancestors did in *Peru*, which were for their Riches and Rareness most marvellous, and exceeding all in *Europe*, and I think of the World, *China* excepted, which also the *Spaniards* (which I had) assured me to be of Truth, as also the Nations of the Borderers, who being but *Salvajes* to those of the Inland, do cause much Treasure to be buried with them, for I was informed of one of the *Cassiqui* of the Valley of *Amariocapana* which had buried with him

him a little before our Arrival, a Chair of Gold most curiously wrought, which was made either in *Macu-reguari* adjoining, or in *Manoa*: But if we should have grieved them in ther Religion at the first, before they had been taught better, and have digged up their Graves, we had lost them all: And therefore I held my first Resolution, that her Majesty should either accept or refuse the Enterprize, ere any thing should be done that might in any Sort hinder the same. And if *Peru* had so many Heaps of Gold, whereof those *Ingas* were Princes, and that they delighted so much therein, no doubt but this which now liveth and reigneth in *Manoa*, hath the same Humour, and I am assured hath more abundance of Gold within his Territory than all *Peru* and the *West-Indies*.

For the rest, which myself have seen, I will promise these Things that follow, and know to be true. Those that are desirous to discover and to see many Nations, may be satisfied within this River, which bringeth forth so many Arms and Branches leading to several Countries and Provinces, above 2000 Miles East and West, and 800 Miles South and North: And of these, the most either rich in Gold, or in other Marchandizes. The common Soldier shall here fight for Gold, and pay himself instead of Pence, with Plates of half a Foot broad, whereas he breaketh his Bones in other Wars for Provant and Penury. Those Commanders and Chieftains, that shoot at Honour and Abundance, shall find there more rich and beautiful Cities, more Temples adorned with golden Images, more Sepulchres filled with Treasure, than either *Cortez* found in *Mexico*, or *Pizzaro* in *Peru*: And the shining Glory of this Conquest will eclipse all those so far-extended Beams of the *Spanish* Nation: There is no Country which yieldeth more Pleasure to the Inhabitants, either for these common Delights of Hunting, Hawking, Fishing, Fowling, and the rest, than *Guiana* doth. It hath so many Plains, clear Rivers, abundance

dance of Pheasants, Partridges, Quails, Rails, Cranes, Herons, and all other Fowl; Deer of all Sorts, Porkers, Hares, Lyons, Tygers, Leopards, and divers other Sorts of Beasts, either for Chace or Food. It hath a Kind of Beast called *Cama*, or *Anta*, as big as an *English* Beef, and in great Plenty.

To speak of the several Sorts of every Kind I fear would be troublesome to the Reader; and therefore I will omit them, and conclude that both for Health, good Air, Pleasure, and Riches, I am resolved it cannot be equalled by any Region either in the East or West. Moreover the Country is so healthful, as one hundred Persons, and more, which lay (without Shift most fluttishly, and were every Day almost melted with Heat in rowing and marching, and suddenly wet again with great Showers, and did eat of all Sorts of corrupt Fruits, and made Meals of fresh Fish without seasoning, of *Tortugas*, of *Lagartos*, and of all Sorts good and bad, without either Order or Measure, and besides lodged in the open Air every Night) we lost not any one, nor had one ill disposed to my Knowledge, nor found any *Callentura*, or other of those pestilent Diseases which dwell in all hot Regions, and so near the Equinotial Line.

Where there is store of Gold, it is in Effect needless to remember other Commodities for Trade: But it hath towards the South Part of the River, great Quantities of Brasil Wood, and of divers Berries that die a most perfect Crimson and Carnation: And for Painting, all *France*, *Italy*, or the East *Indies* yield none such; for the more the Skin is washed, the fairer the Colour appeareth, and with which, even those brown and tawny Women spot themselves, and colour their Cheeks. All Places yield abundance of Cotton, of Silk, of *Balsamum*, and of those Kinds most excellent, and never known in *Europe*; Of all Sorts of Gums, of *Indian* Pepper, and what else the Countrey may afford within the Land we know not, neither

ther had we Time to abide the Trial and Search. The Soil besides is so excellent and so full of Rivers, as it will carry Sugar, Ginger, and all those other Commodities, which the *West-Indies* hath.

The Navigation is short, for it may be sailed with an ordinary Wind in six Weeks, and in the like Time back again, and by the Way neither Lee-Shore, Enemy's Coast, Rocks, nor Sands; all which in the Voyages to the *West-Indies*, and all other Places, we are subject unto, as the Channel of *Babama*, coming from the *West-Indies*, cannot be passed in the Winter, and when it is at the best, it is a perilous and fearful Place: The rest of the *Indies* for Calms and Diseases very troublesome, and the *Bermudas* a hellish Sea for Thunder, Lightning, and Storms.

This very Year there were seventeen Sail of *Spanish* Ships lost in the Channel of *Babama*, and the great *Philip* like to have sunk at the *Bermudas*, was put back to Saint *Juan de Puerto Rico*. And so it falleth out in that Navigation every Year for the most Part, which in this Voyage are not to be feared; for the Time of the Year to leave *England* is best in *July*, and the Summer in *Guiana* is in *October*, *November*, *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*, and then the Ships may depart thence in *April*, and so return again into *England* in *June*, so as they shall never be subject to Winter Weather, either coming, going, or staying there; which, for my Part, I take to be one of the greatest Comforts and Encouragements that can be thought on, having (as done) tasted in this Voyage by the *West Indies* so many Calms, so much Heat, such outrageous Gusts, fowl Weather and contrary Winds.

To conclude, *Guiana* is a Country that hath yet her Maidenhead, never sack'd, turn'd, nor wrought; the Face of the Earth hath not been torn, nor the Virtue and Salt of the Soil spent by Manurance, the Graves have not been opened for Gold, the Mines not

broken with Sledges, nor their Images pull'd down out of their Temples. It hath never been entered by any Army of Strength, and never conquered or possessed by any Christian Prince. It is besides so defensible, that if two Forts be built in one of the Provinces which I have seen, the Flood setteth in so near the Bank, where the Channel also lieth, that no Ship can pass up, but within a Pike's Length of the Artillery, first of the one, and afterwards of the other: Which two Forts will be a sufficient Guard both to the Empire of *Inga*, and to an hundred other several Kingdoms, lying within the said River, even to the City of *Quito in Peru*.

There is therefore great Difference between the Easiness of the Conquest of *Guiana*, and the Defence of it being conquered, and the West or East *Indies*: *Guiana* hath but one Entrance by the Sea (if it have that) for any Vessels of Burden; so as whosoever shall first possess it, it shall be found unaccessible for any Enemy, except he come in Wherries, Barges, or *Cano's*, or else in flat bottom'd Boats; and if he do offer to enter it in that Manner, the Woods are so thick 200 Miles together upon the Rivers of such Entrance, as a Mouse cannot sit in a Boat unhit from the Bank. By Land it is more impossible to approach, for it hath the strongest Situation of any Region under the Sun, and is so invironed with impassable Mountains on every Side, as it is impossible to victual any Company in the Passage, which hath been well proved by the *Spanish* Nation, who since the Conquest of *Peru* have never left five Years free from attempting this Empire, or discovering some Way into it; and yet of twenty-three several Gentlemen, Knights, and Noblemen, there was never any that knew which Way to lead an Army by Land, or to conduct Ships by Sea, any thing near the said Country. *Oreliano*, of which the River of *Amazons* taketh Name was the first, and *Don Antonio de Berreo* (whom we displanted) the last: And I doubt much, whether

whether he himself or any of his, yet know the best Way into the said Empire. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any Strength be formerly set down, but in one or two Places, and but two or three Crumsters of Gallies built, and furnished upon the River within : The West *Indies* hath many Ports, Watering-Places, and Landings, and nearer than 300 Miles to *Guiana*, no Man can harbour a Ship, except he know one only Place, which is not learnt in Haste, and which I will undertake there is not any one of my Companies that knoweth, whosoever hearkened most after it.

Besides, by keeping one good Fort, or building one Town of Strength, the whole Empire is guarded, and whatsoever Companies shall be afterwards planted within the Land, although in twenty several Provinces, those shall be able to reunite themselves upon any Occasion either by the Way of one River, or be able to march by Land without either Wood, Bog, or Mountain : Whereas in the West *Indies* there are few Towns or Provinces that can succour or relieve one the other, either by Land or Sea : By Land the Countries are either desert, mountainous, or strong Enemies : By Sea, if any Man invade to the Eastward, those to the West cannot in many Months turn against the Breeze and Easter-wind ; besides, the *Spaniards* are therein so dispersed, as they are no where strong, but in *Nueva Hispania* only ; the sharp Mountains, the Thorns, and poisoned Prickles, the sandy and deep Ways in the Vallies, the smothering Heat and Air, and Want of Water in other Places, are their only and best Defence, which (because those Nations that invade them are not victualled or provided to stay, neither have any Place to find adjoining) do serve them instead of good Arms and great Multitudes.

The West-*Indies* were first offered her Majesty's Grandfather by *Columbus*, a Stranger, in whom there might be Doubt of Deceit, and besides, it was then
thought

thought incredible, that there were such and so many Land and Regions never written of before. This Empire is made known to her Majesty by her own Vassal, and by him that oweth to her more Duty than an ordinary Subject; so that it shall ill sort with the many Graces and Benefits which I have received, to abuse her Highness either with Fables or Imaginations. The Country is already discovered, many Nations won to her Majesty's Love and Obedience; and those *Spaniards* which have latest and longest laboured about the Conquest, beaten out, discouraged and disgraced, which among these Nations were thought invincible. Her Majesty may, in this Enterprize, employ all those Soldiers and Gentlemen that are younger Brethren, and all Captains and Chieftains that want Employment, and the Charge will be only the first setting out in victualling and arming them; for after the first or second Year, I doubt not but to see in *London* a Contractation House of more Receipt for *Guiana*, than there is now in *Seville* for the *West Indies*.

And I am resolved, that if there were but a small Army a-foot in *Guiana*, marching towards *Manoa* the chief City of *Inga*, he would yield her Majesty by Composition so many hundred thousand Pounds yearly, as should both defend all Enemies abroad, and defray all Expences at home; and that he would besides pay a Garrison of 3000 or 4000 Soldiers very royally to defend him against other Nations; for he cannot but know, how his Predecessors, yea how his own great Uncles *Guascar* and *Atibalipa*, Sons to *Guanacapa* Emperor of *Peru*, were (while they contended for the Empire) beaten out by the *Spaniards*, and that both of late Years, and ever since the said Conquest, the *Spaniards* have sought the Passages and Entry of his Country: And of their Cruelties used to the Borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which Respects, no doubt but he will be brought to Tribute with great Gladness;

if

if not, he hath neither Shot nor Iron Weapon in all his Empire, and therefore may easily be conquered.

And I farther remember, that *Berreio* confessed to me and others (which I protest before the Majesty of God to be true) that there was found among Prophecies in *Peru*, (at such time as the Empire was reduced to the *Spanish* Obedience) in their chiefest Temples, amongst divers others which foreshewed the Loss of the said Empire, that from *Inglatierra* those *Ingas* should be again in Time to come restored, and delivered from the Servitude of the said Conquerors. And I hope, as we with these few Hands have displanted the first Garrison, and driven them out of the said Country, so her Majesty will give Order for the rest, and either defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquer and keep it as Empress of the same. For whatsoever Prince shall possess it, shall be greatest; and if the King of *Spain* enjoy it, he will become irresistible. Her Majesty hereby shall confirm and strengthen the Opinion of all Nations, as touching her great and princely Actions. And where the South Border of *Guiana* reacheth to the Dominion and Empire of the *Amazons*, those Women shall hereby hear the Name of a Virgin, which is not only able to defend her own Territories and her Neighbours, but also to invade and conquer so great Empires, and so far removed.

To speak more at this Time, I fear would be but troublesome: I trust in God, this being true, will suffice, and that he which is King of all Kings, and Lord of Lords, will put it into her Heart which is Lady of Ladies, to possess it; if not, I will judge those Men worthy to be Kings thereof, that by her Grace and Leave will undertake it of themselves.



A N

ABSTRACT

Taken out of certain *Spaniards* Letters concerning *Guiana* and the Countries lying upon the great River of *Oroonoko*: With certain Reports also touching the same.

An Advertisement to the Reader.

THOSE Letters out of which the Abstracts following are taken, were surprized at Sea as they were passing for *Spain* in the Year 1594, by Captain *George Popham*; who the next Year, and the same that Sir *Walter Raleigh* discovered *Guiana*, as he was in a Voyage for the *West-Indies*, learnt also the Reports annexed. All which, at his Return, being two Months after Sir *Walter*, as also so long after the writing of the former Discourse, hearing also of his Discovery, he made known, and delivered to some of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and others. The which, seeing they confirm in some Part the Substance, I mean, the Riches of that Country; it hath been thought fit that they should be thereunto adjoined. Wherein the Reader is to be advertised, that although the *Spaniards* seem to glory much of their formal Possession taken before *Mo-*
requito

requito the Lord of *Aromaya*, and others thereabouts, which throughly understood them not at that Time, whatsoever the *Spaniards* otherwise pretend; yet, according to the former Discourse, and as also it is related by *Caworaco*, the Son of *Topiawari*, now chief Lord of the said *Aromaya*, who was brought into *England* by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and was present at the same Possession and Discovery of the *Spaniards* mentioned in these Letters; it appeareth that after they were gone out of their Country, the *Indians* then having farther Consideration of the Matter, and more than Conjecture of their Intent, having known and heard of their former Cruelties upon their Borderers and others of the *Indians* elsewhere; at their next coming, there being ten of them sent and employed for a farther Discovery, they were provided to receive and entertain them in another Manner of Sort than they had done before; that is to say, they slew them and buried them in the Country so much sought. They gave them by that Means a full and compleat Possession, the which before they had but begun. And so they are minded to do, to as many *Spaniards* as come after. Other Possession they have had none since. Neither do the *Indians* mean, as they protest, to give them any other. One other thing to be remembred is, that in these Letters, the *Spaniards* seem to call *Guiana* and other Countries near it, bordering upon the River of *Oroonoko*, by the Name of *Nuevo Dorado*, because of the great Plenty of Gold there in most Places to be found; aluding also to the Name of *El Dorado*, which was given by *Martinez*, to the great City of *Manoa*, as is in the former Treatise specified. This is all I thought good to advertise. As for some other Matters, I leave them to the Consideration and Judgment of the indifferent Reader.

W. R.

L E T.

LETTERS taken at Sea by Captain
George Popham, 1594.

Alonso his Letter from the *Gran Canaria* to his Brother,
being Commander of *S. Lucar*, concerning *El Dorado*.

There have been certain Letters received here
of late, of a Land newly discovered, called
Nuevo Dorado, from the Sons of certain Inhabitants of
this City, who were in the Discovery. They write of
wonderful Riches to be found in the said *Dorado*, and
that Gold there is in great Abundance: The Course
to fall with it is fifty Leagues to the Windward of
Margarita.

Alonso's Letter from thence to certain Merchants of
S. Lucar, concerning *El Dorado*.

S I R S,

WE have no News worth the writing, sav-
ing of a Discovery lately made by the *Spaniards*,
in a new Land called *Nuevo Dorado*, which is two Days
sailing to the Windward of *Margarita*: There is Gold
in such Abundance, as the like hath not been heard
of. We have it for certain in Letters written from
thence by some that were in the Discovery, unto their
Parents here in this City. I purpose (God willing) to
bestow ten or twelve Days in search of the said *Dorado*,
as I pass in my Voyage towards *Carthagen*, hoping
there to make some good Sale of our Commodities.
I have sent you therewith Part of the Information of
the said Discovery, that was sent to his Majesty.

Part of the Copy that was sent to his Majesty, of the
Discovery of *Nuevo Dorado*.

IN the River of *Pato*, otherwise called *Oroonoko*, in
the principal Part thereof called *Warismero*, the 23d
of April 1593, *Domingo de Vera*, Master of the Camp,
and

and General for *Antonio de Berreo* Governor and Captain-General for our Lord the King, betwixt the Rivers of *Pato* and *Papamene*, alias *Oroonoko*, and *Marannon*, and of the Island of *Trinidad*, in Presence of me *Rodorigo de Carança*, Register for the Sea, commanded all the Soldiers to be drawn together and put in order of Battle, the Captains and Soldiers, and Master of the Camp standing in the midst of them, said unto them: “Sirs, Soldiers, and Captains, you understand long since that our General *Antonio de Berreo*, with the Travel of eleven Years, and Expence of more then an hundred thousand Pezos of Gold, discovered the royal Provinces of *Guiana* and *Dorado*: Of the which he took Possession to govern the same, but through Want of his People’s Health, and necessary Munition, he issued out at the Island *Margarita*, and from thence peopled *Trinidad*. But now they have sent me to learn out and discover the Ways most easily to enter, and to people the said Provinces, and where the Camps and Armies may best enter the same. By Reason whereof I intend so to do in the Name of his Majesty, and the said Governor *Antonio de Berreo*; and in Token thereof, I require you *Francis Carillo*, that you aid me to advance this Cross that lieth here on the Ground, which they set on End towards the East.” And the said Master of the Camp, the Captains and Soldiers kneeled down, and did due Reverence unto the said Cross; and thereupon the Master of the Camp took a Bowl of Water, and drank it off, and took more and threw it abroad on the Ground: He also drew out his Sword, and cut the Grass off the Ground, and the Boughs off the Trees, saying, “I take this Possession in the Name of the King *Don Philip* our Master, and of his Governor *Antonio de Berreo*.” And because some make question of this Possession, to them I answer, That in these our Actions was present the *Cassique* or Principal, *Don Antonio*, otherwise called *Norequito*, whose Land this was, who yielded Consent

to the said Possession, was glad thereof, and gave his Obedience to our Lord the King, and in his Name to the said Governor *Antonio de Berreo*. And the said Master of the Camp kneeled down, being in his Liberty, and all the Captains and Soldiers said, That the Possession was well taken; and that they would defend it with their Lives, upon whosoever would say the contrary. And the said Master of the Camp having his Sword drawn in his Hand said unto me: "Register, that are here present, give me an Instrument or Testimonial to confirm me in this Possession, which I have taken of this Land, for the Governor *Antonio de Berreo*; and if it be needful I will take it anew." And I require you all that are present to witness the same; and do further declare, that I will go on; taking Possession of all the Lands wheresoever I shall enter. Signed thus.

Domingo de Vera, and underneath, Before me
Rodrigo de Carança, Register of the Army.

AND in Prosecution of the said Possession, and the Discovery of the Way and Provinces, the 27th of *April* of the said Year, the Master of the Camp entered by little and little with all the Camp and Men of War, more than two Leagues into the Inland, and came to a Town of a Principal, and conferring with him did let him understand by Means of *Antonio Bisante* the Interpreter, that his Majesty and *Antonio de Berreo* had sent him to take the said Possession. And the said Frier *Francis Carillo*, by the Interpreter delivered him certain Things of our holy Catholick Faith; to all which he answered, they understood him well, and would become Christians, and that with a very good Will they should advance the Cross, in what Part or Place of the Town it pleased them, for he was for the Governor *Antonio de Berreo*, who was his Master. Thereupon the said Master of the Camp took
a great

a great Cross, and set it on End towards the East, and requested the whole Camp to witness it; and *Domingo de Vera* firmed it thus.

It is well and firmly done. And underneath,
Before me *Rodrigo Crança*, Register of the Army.

THE first of *May* they prosecuted the said Possession and Discovery to the Town on *Carapana*. From thence the said Master of the Camp passed to the Town of *Toroco*, whose Principal is called *Topiawari*, being five Leagues farther within the Land than the first Nation, and well inhabited. And to this Principal by Means of the Interpreter, they gave to understand, that his Majesty and the said *Corrigger* commanded them to take the Possession of that Land; and that they should yield their Obedience to his Majesty, and to his *Corrigger*, and to the Master of the Camp in his Name; and that in Token thereof he would place a Cross in the Middle of his Town. Whereunto the said *Cassique* answered, they should advance it with a very good Will, and that he remained in the Obedience of our Lord the King, and of the said Governor *Antonio de Berreo*, whose Vassal he would be.

The fourth of *May* we came to a Province above five Leagues thence, of all Sides inhabited with much People. The Principal of this People came and met us in peaceable manner; and he is called *Revato*: He brought us to a very large House, where he entertained us well, and gave us much Gold; and the Interpreter asking him from whence that Gold was, he answered, from a Province not passing a Day's Journey off, where there are so many *Indians* as would shadow the Sun, and so much Gold as all yonder Plain will not contain it. In which Country (when they enter into the *Borracheras*, or their drunken Feasts) they take of the said Gold in Dust, and anoint themselves all

over therewith, to make the braver Shew ; and to the End the Gold may cover them, they anoint their Bodies with stamped Herbs of a glewy Substance: And they have War with those *Indians*. They promised us that if we would go unto them, they would aid us ; but they were such infinite Numbers, as no doubt they would kill us. And being asked how they got the same Gold, they told us they went to a certain Down or Plain, and pulled and digged up the Grass by the Root: Which done, they took of the Earth, putting it in great Buckets, which they carried to wash at the River, and that which came in Powder they kept for their *Borracheras* or drunken Feasts, and that which was in Pieces they wrought into Eagles.

The eighth of *May* we went from thence, and marched about five Leagues: At the Foot of a Hill we found a Principal called *Arataco*, with three thousand *Indians* Men and Women, all in Peace and with much Victual, as Hens and Venison in great Abundance, and many Sorts of Wine. He intreated us to go to his House, and to rest that Night in his Town, being of five hundred Houses. The Interpreter asked whence he had those Hens: He said they were brought from a Mountain not passing a quarter of a League thence, where were many *Indians*, yea so many as Grass on the Ground, and that these Men have the Points of their Shoulders higher than the Crowns of their Heads, and had so many Hens as was wonderful; and if we would have any, we should send them Jews Harps, for they would give for every one two Hens. We took an *Indian*, and gave him five hundred Harps; the Hens were so many that he brought us, as were not to be numbred. We said, we would go thither; they told us they were now in their *Borracheras*, or drunken Feasts, and would kill us. We asked the *Indian* that brought the Hens, if it were true; he said it was most true. We asked him how they made their *Borracheras*, or drunken Feasts; he said, they had
many

many Eagles of Gold hanging on their Breasts, and Pearls in their Ears, and that they danced, being all covered with Gold. The *Indian* said unto us, if we would see them, we should give him some Hatchets, and he would bring us of those Eagles. The Master of the Camp gave him one Hatchet (he would give him no more, because they should not understand we went to seek Gold) he brought us an Eagle that weighed 27 Pounds of good Gold. The Master of the Camp took it, and shewed it to the Soldiers, and then threw it from him, making Shew not to regard it. About Midnight came an *Indian*, and said unto him, Give me a Pickax, and I will tell thee what the *Indians* with the high Shoulders mean to do. The Interpreter told the Master of the Camp, who commanded one to be given him: He then told us, those *Indians* were coming to kill us for our Merchandize. Hereupon the Master of the Camp caused his Company to be set in Order, and began to march. The eleventh day of *May* we went about seven Leagues from thence to a Province, where we found a great Company of *Indians* apparelled: They told us that if we came to fight, they would fill up those Plains with *Indians* to fight with us; but if we came in Peace, we should enter and be well entertained of them, because they had a great Desire to see Christians: And there they told us of all the Riches that was. I do not here set it down, because there is no Place for it, but it shall appear by the Information that goeth to his Majesty; for if it should here be set down, four Leaves of Paper would not contain it.

The Letter of *George Burien Britton* from the said *Canaries* unto his Cousin a Frenchman dwelling in *S. Lucar*, concerning *El Dorado*.

S I R, and my very good Cousin,

THere came of late certain Letters from a new discovered Country not far from *Trinidad*, which they write, hath Gold in great Abundance: The News

seemeth to be very certain, because it passeth for good amongst the best of this City. Part of the Information of the Discovery that went to his Majesty, goeth inclosed in *Alonso's* Letters; it is a Thing worth the seeing.

The Report of *Domingo Martinez* of *Jamaica* concerning *El Dorado*.

HE saith that in 1593, being at *Carthagena*, there was a general Report of a late Discovery called *Nuevo Dorado*, and that a little before his coming thither, there came a Frigate from the said *Dorado*, bringing in it the Portraiture of a Giant all of Gold, of Weight 47 Quintals, which the *Indians* there held for their Idol. But now admitting of Christianity and Obedience to the King of *Spain*, they sent their said Idol unto him, in Token they were become Christians, and held him for their King. The Company coming in the said Frigate, reported Gold to be there in most Abundance, Diamonds of inestimable Value, with great Store of Pearl.

The Report of a *Frenchman* called *Bountillier* of *Sherbrouke*, concerning *Trinidad* and *Dorado*.

HE saith, that being at *Trinidad* in 1591, he had of an *Indian* there a Piece of Gold of a quarter of a Pound in Exchange of a Knife; the said *Indian* told him, he had it at the Head of that River which cometh to *Paracoa* in *Trinidad*: And that within the River of *Oroonoko*, it was in great Abundance. Also in 1593, being taken by the *Spaniards*, and brought Prisoner into the Island of *Madeira* (the Place for his Prison) there came in this mean Time a Bark of forty Guns from a new Discovery, with two Millions of Gold; the Company whereof reported Gold in that Place to be in great Abundance, and called it *El Nuevo*

Nuevo Dorado. This *Frenchman* passed from *Spain* in the Bark, and having a Cabbin near a Gentleman, one of the Discoverers that came from that Place in the said Bark, had divers Times Conference with him, and amongst other Things, of the great Abundance of Gold in the said *Dorado*, being, as they said, within the River of *Oroonoko*.

Reports of certain Merchants of *Rio de Hacha*, concerning *El Nuevo Dorado*.

THEY said (advancing the King's great Treasure in the *Indies*) that *Neuevo Reyno* yielded very many Gold Mines, and wonderful rich; but lately was discovered a certain Province so rich in Gold, as the Report thereof may seem incredible, it is there in such Abundance; and is called *El Nuevo Dorado*: *Antonio de Berreo* made the said Discovery.

The Report of a *Spaniard*, Captain with *Berreo* in the Discovery of *El Nuevo Dorado*.

THAT the Information sent to the King was in every Point truly said, that the River *Oroonoko* hath seven Mouths, or Outlets into the Sea, called *Las Siete Bocas de Dragon*; that the said River runneth far into the Land, in many Places very broad, and that *Anth. de Berreo* lay at *Trinidad*, making head to go and conquer and people the said *Dorado*.



S I R

WALTER RALEIGH's

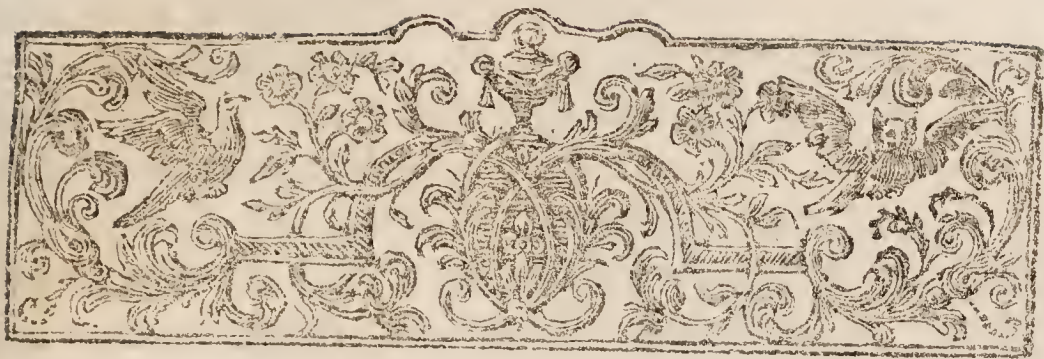
A P O L O G Y

F O R H I S

V O Y A G E

T O

G U I A N A.



S I R

WALTER RALEIGH'S A P O L O G Y.

IF the ill Success of this Enterprize of mine had been without Example, I should have needed a large Discourse, and many Arguments for my Justification. But if the vain Attempts of the greatest Princes of *Europe*, both among themselves and against the great *Turk*, are in all modern Histories left to every Eye to peruse; it is not so strange that my self, being but a private Man, and drawing after me the Chains and Fetters whereunto I have been thirteen Years tyed in the *Tower*, (being unpardoned, and in disgrace with my Sovereign Lord) have, by other Men's Errors, failed in the Attempt I undertook.

For if that *Charles* the Fifth returned with unexampl'd Loss, (I will not say Dishonour,) from *Algier*, in *Africa*; or if King *Sebastian* lost himself and his Army in *Barbary*; if the invincible Fleet and Forces of *Spain* in Eighty Eight were beaten home by the
Lord

Lord *Charles Howard* Admiral of *England* ; if Mr. *Strozzi*, the Count *Brizack*, the Count of *Vinnofo*, and others, with a Fleet of fifty eight sail, and six thousand Soldiers, encountred with far less Numbers, could not defend the *Terceres* ; leaving to speak of a World of other Attempts furnished by Kings and Princes ; if Sir *Francis Drake*, Sir *John Hawkins* and Sir *Thomas Baskerville*, Men for their Experience and Valour as eminent as *England* had any, strengthened with divers of her Majesty's Ships, and filled with Soldiers at will, could not possess themselves of the Treasure they sought for, which in their View was embarked in certain Frigates at *Puerto Rico*, yet afterward they were repulsed with fifty Negroes upon the Mountains of *Vasques Numius*, or *Sierra de Capira*, in their Passage towards *Panania* : If Sir *John Norris* (though not by any Fault of his) failed in the Attempts of *Lisbon*, and returned with the Loss, by Sickness and otherwise, of eight thousand Men ; what wonder is it, but that mine (which is the last) being followed with a Company of Voluntiers, who for the most Part, had neither seen the Sea nor the Wars, who, some forty Gentlemen excepted, were the very scum of the World, Drunkards, Blasphemers, and such others as their Fathers, Brothers and Friends thought it an exceeding good Gain to be discharged of them, with the Hazard of some thirty, forty or fifty Pounds, knowing they could not have liv'd a whole Year so cheap at home : I say, what wonder is it, if I have failed, where I could neither be present my self, nor had any of the Commanders (whom I most trusted) living, or in State to supply my Place ?

Now whereas it was bruited, both before and since my Departure out of *England*, and by the most Men believed, that I meant nothing less than to go to *Guiana* ; but that being once at Liberty, and in mine own Power, having made my Way with some foreign Prince, I would turn Pirate, and utterly forsake my

Country ;

Country; my being at *Guiana*, my returning into *England* unpardoned, and my not taking the Spoil of the Subjects of any Christian Prince, hath (I doubt not) destroyed that Opinion.

But this is not all; for it hath been given out by an hypocritical Thief, who was the first Master of my Ship; and by an ungrateful Youth which waited upon me in my Cabbin, (though of honourable worthy Parents) and by others, that I carried with me out of *England* twenty two thousand Pieces of twenty two Shillings the Piece, and therefore needed not, or cared not to discover any Mine in *Guiana*, nor make any other Attempt elsewhere: Which Report being carried secretly from one to another in my Ship, (and so spread through all the Ships in the Fleet, which staid with me at *Trinidado* while our Land-Forces were in *Guiana*,) had like to have been my utter Overthrow in a most miserable Fashion; for it was consulted, when I had taken my Barge, and gone ashore (either to discover or otherwise as I often did) that my Ship should have set sail and left me there; where either I must have suffered Famine, been eaten with wild Beasts, or have fallen into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, and been flayed alive, as others of the *English*, which came thither but to trade only, had formerly been.

To this Report of Riches, I make this Protestation; that if it can be proved, either now or hereafter, that I had in the World, either in my keeping or in my Power, either directly or indirectly, in trust or otherwise, above one Hundred Pieces, when I departed *London*, of which I had left forty five Pieces with my Wife, and fifty five I carried with me: I acknowledge my self for a Reprobate, a Villain, a Traitor to the King, and the most unworthy Man that doth live, or ever hath liv'd upon the Earth.

Now whereas the Captains that left me in the *Indies*, and Captain *Baily*, that ran away from me at *Cancerota*, have, to excuse themselves, objected for the first,

first, that I lingered at *Plymouth* when I might have gone thence, and lost a fair Wind, and Time of the Year, or to that Effect; it is strange that Men of Fashion and Gentlemen should so grossly bely their own Knowledge; that had not I lived nor returned to have made answer to this Fiction, yet all that knew us in *Plymouth*, and all that we had to deal withal, knew the contrary: For after I had staid at the Isle of *Wight* divers Days, the *Thunder*, commanded by Sir *Warram St. Leger*, by the Negligence of her Master, was at *Lee* in the *Thames*; and after I arrived at *Plymouth*, Captain *Pennington* was not come then to the Isle of *Wight*, and being arrived there, and not able to redeem his Bread from the Bakers, he rode back to *London* to intreat Help from my Wife to pay for it; who having not so much Money to serve his Turn, she wrote to Mr. *Wood* of *Portsmouth*, and gave him her Word for thirty Pounds, which she soon after paid him, without which (as *Pennington* himself protested to my Wife) he had not been able to have gone the Journey: Sir *John Ferne* I found there without all Hope of being able to proceed, having neither Men nor Money, and in great Want of other Provision; insomuch as I furnished him by my Cousin *Herbert* with a hundred Pounds, having supplied himself in *Wales* with a hundred Pounds before his coming to *Plymouth*; and procured him a third hundred Pounds from the worthy and honest Dean of *Exeter*, Doctor *Sutcliffe*. Captain *Whitney*, whom I also staid for, had a third Part of his Victuals to provide, insomuch as having no Money to help him withal, I sold my Plate in *Plymouth* to supply him. *Baily* I left at the Isle of *Wight*, whose Arrival I also attended here some ten or twelve Days, as I remember. And what should move *Baily* only to leave me as he did at the *Canaries*, from whence he might have departed with my Love and Leave, and at his Return to do me all the Wrong he could devise, I cannot conceive; he seemed to me from the Beginning

ginning not to want any thing, he only desired of me some Ordnance and some iron-bound Cask, and I gave it him: I never gave him ill Language, nor offered him the least Unkindness to my Knowledge: It is true, that I refused him a *French* Shallop which he took in the Bay of *Portugal* outward bound; and yet after I had bought her of the *French*, and paid fifty Crowns ready Money for her, if *Bailey* had then desired her, he might have had her. But to take any thing from the *French*, or from any other Nation, I meant it not.

True it is, that as many things succeed both against Reason and our best Endeavours; so it is most commonly true, that Men are the Cause of their own Misery, as I was of mine, when I undertook my late Enterprize without a Pardon; for all my Company having heard it avow'd in *England* before they went, that the Commission I had, was granted to a Man who was *Non Ens* in law; so hath the Want thereof taken from me both Arms and Actions: Which gives Boldness to every petty Companion to spread Rumours to my Defamation and the wounding of my Reputation, in all Places where I cannot be present to make them Knaves and Liars.

It hath been secondly objected, That I put into *Ireland*, and spent much Time there, taking care to revictual my self, and none of the rest.

Certainly I had no Purpose to see *Ireland* when I left *Plymouth*; but being encountered with a strong Storm some eight Leagues to the Westward of *Scilly*, (in which Captain *Chudley*'s Pinace was sunk, and Captain *King* thrust into *Bristol*;) I held it the Office of a Commander of many Ships, and those of divers Sailings and Conditions, of which some could hull and and trye, and some of them beat it up upon a Tack, and others neither able to do the one nor the other, rather to take a Port, and keep his Fleet together, than either to endanger the Loss of Masts and Yards,

or to have it severed far asunder, and to be thrust into divers Places; for the Attendance of meeting them again at the next Rendezvous, would consume more Time and Victual, (and perchance the weak Ships might be set upon, taken, or disordered) than could be spent by recovering a Harbour, and attending the next Change of Wind.

That the dissevering of Fleets hath been the Overthrow of many Actions, I could give many Examples, were it not in every Man's Knowledge. In the last Enterprize of Worth, undertaken by our *English* Nation with three Squadrons of Ships, commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and my self, where was also present the Earl of *Southampton*; if we being storm-beaten in the Bay of *Alcassar*, or *Biscay*, had had a Port under our Lee, that we might have kept our transporting Ships, with our Men of War, we had in all Likelihood both taken the *Indian* Fleet and the *Azores*.

That we staid long in *Ireland* it is true; but they must accuse the Clouds and not me, for our Stay there; for I lost not a Day of a good Wind; there was not any Captain of the Fleet but had Credit, or might have had, for a great deal of more Victuals than we spent there, and yet they had of me fifty Beeves among them, and somewhat else.

For the third Accusation, That I landed in hostile Manner at *Lancerota*; certainly captain *Baily* had great Want of Matter when he gave that for an Excuse of his turning back; for I refer my self to Mr. *Barney*, who I know will ever justify a Truth, to whom (when he came to me from Captain *Baily* to know whether he should land his Men with the rest) I made this Answer, that he might land them if it pleased him, or otherwise keep them aboard; for I had agreed with the Governor for a Proportion of Victual which I hourly expected: And it is true, that the Governor being desirous to speak with me with one Gentle-

man

man with him, with their Rapiers only; which I accepting, and taking with me Lieutenant *Bradshaw*, we agreed, that I should send up an *English* Factor (whose Ship did then ride in the Road) and that whatsoever the Island could yield, should be delivered at a reasonable Rate: I sent the *English* Factor according to our Agreement, but the Governor put it off from one Morning to another, and in the End sent me Word, that except I would embark my Men which lay on the Sea Side, the *Islanders* were so jealous as they durst not sever themselves to make our Provisions. I did so, but when the one half were gotten aboard, two of our Centinels were forc'd, one slain, and the *English* Factor sent to tell me that he had nothing for us, whom he still believed to be a Fleet of the *Turks*, who had lately taken and destroyed *Puerto Sancto*. Hereupon all the Companies would have marched towards the Town and have sack'd it; but I knew it would not only dislike his Majesty, but that our Merchants having a continual Trade with those Islands, that their Goods would have been stay'd, and amongst the rest, the poor *Englishman* riding in the Road, having all that he brought thither ashore, would have been utterly undone.

Hereof I complained to the Governor of the Grand *Canaries*, whom I also desired that we might take Water without any Disturbance; but instead of Answer, when we landed some hundred Men, far from any Habitation, and in a desert Place of the Island, where we found some fresh Water, there Ambush was laid; and one *Fisher* of Sir *John Fernes's* Ship wounded to Death; and more had been slain had not Captain *Thornbust* and Master *Robert Hayman* my Son's Lieutenant, two exceeding valiant Gentlemen, who first made head against them, seconded by Sir *Warham Sentleger*, and my Son, with half a dozen more, made forty of them run away. From hence because there was Scarcity of Water, we sailed to *Gomarrah*, one of
the

the strongest and best defenced Places of all the Islands, and the best Port; the Town being seated upon the very Wash of the Sea. At the first Entrance of our Ships, they shot at us, and ours at them; but as soon as I myself recovered the Harbour, and had commanded that there should be no more shooting, I sent a *Spaniard* ashore (taken in a Bark which came from *Cape Blank*) to tell the Governor that I had no Purpose to make War with any of the *Spanish* King's Subjects, and if any Harm were done by our great Ordnance to the Town, it was his fault, which by shooting first gave the Occasion. He sent me for Answer, that he thought we had been the *Turkish* Fleet which destroyed *Puerto Sancto*; but being resolved by the Messenger, that we were Christians and *English*, and fought nothing but Water, he would willingly afford us as much as we pleased to take, if he might be assured that we would not attempt his Town-Houses, nor destroy the Gardens and Fruits. I returned him Answer, that I would give him my Faith, and the Word of the King of *Great Britain* my Sovereign Lord, that the People of the Town and Island should not lose so much as one Orange, or a Grape, without paying for it; for if any Man of mine should injure them, I would hang him up in the Market-street. Now that I kept my Faith with him, and how much he held himself bound unto me, I have divers of his Letters to shew, for he wrote unto me every Day. And the Countess being of an *English* Race (a *Stafford* by Mother, and of the House of *Horn* by the Father,) sent me divers Presents of Fruits, Sugar and Rusk; to whom I returned (because I would not depart in her Debt) Things of greater Value. The old Earl at my Departure, wrote a Letter to the *Spanish* Ambassador here in *England*, how I behaved myself in those Islands. There I discharged a Bark of the grand *Canaries*, taken by one of my Pinaces coming from *Cape-Blank* in *Africa*; and demanding of him what

Prejudice

Prejudice he had received by being taken, he told me that my Men had eaten of his Fish to the Value of six Ducats, for which I gave him eight.

From the *Canaries*, it is said, That I sailed to *Cape de Verte*, knowing it to be an infectious Place, by reason whereof, I lost so many of my Men e're I recovered the *Indies*. The Truth is, that I came no nearer to *Cape de Verte* than *Bravo*, which is one hundred and sixty Leagues off; but had I taken it in my Way, falling upon the Coast, or any other Part of *Guiana*, after the Rains, there is as little Danger of Infection, as in any other Part of the World, as our *English* that trade in those Parts every Year do well know. There are few Places in *England*, or in the World, near great Rivers, which run through low Grounds, or near moorish or marsh Grounds, but the People inhabiting near, are at some Time of the Year subject to Fevers; witness *Woolwich* in *Kent*, and all down the Rivers on both Sides; other Infection there is not found either in the *Indies* or in *Africa*, except it be, when the Easterly Wind or Breezes are kept off, by some high Mountains from the Vallies, whereby the Air wanting Motion, doth become exceeding unhealthful, as at *Nombre de Dios* and elsewhere. But as good Success admits no Examination, so the contrary allows of no Excuse, how reasonable or just soever. Sir *Francis Drake*, Mr. *John Winter* and *John Thomas*, when they past the Streights of *Magellan*, met with a Storm, which drove *Winter* back, which thrust *John Thomas* upon the Islands to the South, where he was cast away; and drove Sir *Francis* near a small Island upon which the *Spaniards* landed their Cheins and Murderers, from *Baldivia*; and he found there *Philip* an *Indian*, who told him where he was, and conducted him to *Baldivia*, where he took his first Prize of Treasure; and in that Ship he found a Pilot called *John Grege*, who guided him all that Coast, in which he

possess himself of the rest, which Pilot, because he should not rob him of his Reputation and Knowledge in those Parts, (desisting the Intreaties and Tears of all his Company) he set him a shore upon the Island of *Aegulus*, that is *Aligator*, to be by them devoured. After which passing by the *East-Indies*, he returned into *England*; and notwithstanding the Peace between us and *Spain*, he enjoyed the Riches he brought, and was never so much as called to an Account for cutting off *Dugly's* Head at *Porte St. Julian*, having neither Marshal Law, nor other Commission available. Mr. *Candish* having past all the Coasts of *Chyle* and *Peru*, and not gotten a Farthing, when he was without Hope, and ready to shape his Course by the East homewards, met a Ship which came from the *Philippines* at *Calestorvia*, a thousand Pounds to a Nut-shell. These two in these two Voyages, were the Children of Fortune, and much honoured; but when Sir *Francis Drake* in his last Attempt might have landed at *Cruces*, by the River of *Chyagre*, within eight Miles of *Panama*, he notwithstanding set the Troops on Land at *Number de Dios*, and received the Repulse aforesaid, and died for Sorrow. The same Success had *Candish* in his last Passage towards the Streights. I say that one and the same End they both had, to wit, *Drake* and *Candish*, when Chance had left them to the Trial of their own Virtues.

For the rest, I leave to all worthy and indifferent Men to judge, by what Neglect or Error of mine, the Gold Mine in *Guiana*, which I had formerly discovered, was not found and enjoyed; for after we had refreshed ourselves in *Galleana*, otherwise in the first Discovery called *Port Howard*, where we tarried for Captain *Hastins*, Captain *Pigot*, and Captain *Snedal*, and there recovered the most Part of our sick Men, I did embark six Companies, of fifty to each Company, in five Ships; to wit, the *Encounter*, commanded by Captain *Whitney*; in the *Confidence*, by Cap-
tain

tain *Woolastone*; in two Flyboats of my own, commanded by Captain *Samuel King*, and Captain *Robert Smith*: in a Carvil. Which Companies had for their Leaders Captain *Charles Parker*, Captain *North*, my Son, Captain *Thornburst*, Captain *Penjulous* Lieutenant, and Captain *Chudley's* Lieutenant *Prideux*.

At the *Triangle* Islands, I embarked the Companies for *Oroonoko*, between which and *Galleana*, I lay a-ground twenty four Hours; and if it had not been fair Weather, we had never come off the Coast, having not above two Fathom and a half of Water: Eight Leagues off from whence, I directed them for the River of *Surniama*, the best Port of all that Track of Land, between the River *Amazones* and *Orconoko*; there I gave them order to trim their Boats and Barges; and by the *Indians* of that Place, to understand the State of the *Spaniards* in *Oroonoko*, and whether they had replanted or strengthened themselves upon the Entrances, or elsewhere; and if they found any *Indians* there, to send in the little Fly boat, or the Carvill into the River of *Dissebecke*, where they should not fail to find Pilots for *Oroonoko*. For with our great Ships we durst not approach the Coast, we having been all of us a-ground; and in Danger of leaving our Bands upon the Shoales, before we recovered the *Triangle* Islands, as aforesaid. The biggest Ship that could enter the River was the *Encounter*, who might be brought to eleven Foot. The Depth of the Water upon the Bar, we could never understand neither by *Keymis*, who was the first of any Nation that had entered the main Mouth of *Oroonoko*, nor by any other of the Masters or Mariners of our Fleet, which had traded there ten or twelve Years for Tobacco: For the *Chudley*, when she came near the Entrance, drawing but twelve Foot, found herself in Danger, and bore up for *Trinidado*.

Now whereas some of my Friends have been unsatisfied, why I myself had not gone up with the Com-

panies I sent, I desire hereby to give them Satisfaction, that besides my want of Health and Strength, having not recovered my long and dangerous Sickness, but was again fallen into a Relapse, my Ship shoaled and laid a-ground at seventeen Foot Water, seven Leagues off the Shoar, so as the Master nor any of my Company durst adventure to come near it, much less to fall between the Shoals on the South Side of the River's Side, and Sands on the North Side called *Punto Anegado*, one of the most dangerous Places in all the *Indies*. It was therefore resolved by us all, that the five greater Ships should ride at *Punto Gallo*, in *Trinidado*; and the five lesser should enter the River; for if *Whitney* and *Weollaston* at eleven Foot lay a-ground three Days in passing up, in what Case had I been which drew seventeen Foot, a heavier Ship, and charged with forty Pieces of Ordnance. Besides this Impossibility, neither would my Son nor the rest of the Captains and Gentlemen, have adventured themselves up the River (having but one Month's Victuals, and being thrust together a Hundred of them in a small Fly-boat) had not I assured them, that I would stay for them at *Trinidado*, and that no Force should drive me thence, except I were sunk in the Sea, or set on Fire by the *Spanish* Galleons; for that they would have adventured themselves upon any other Man's Word or Resolution, it were ridiculous to believe.

Having in this Sort resolved upon our Enterprize, and having given Instructions, how they should proceed before and after their Entrance into *Oroonoko*, *Keymis* having undertaken to discover the Mine, with six or eight Persons in Sir *John Ferne's* Shallop; I better bethinking myself, and misliking his Determination, gave him this Order, *viz.*

“ *Keymis*, whereas, you were resolved after your Arrival into *Oroonoko* to pass to the Mine (with my Cousin *Herbert* and six Musketeers,) and to that End
you

you desired to have Sir *John Ferne's* Shallop, I do not allow of that Course, because you cannot land so secretly, but that some *Indians* on the River Side may discover you, who giving Knowledge of your Passage to the *Spaniards*, you may be cut off before you can recover your Boat : I do therefore advise you to suffer the Captains and the Companies of the *English* to pass up to the Westwards of the Mountain *Aio*, from whence you have no less than three Miles to the Mine ; and to lodge and encamp between the *Spanish* Town and you, if there be any Town near it ; that being so secured you may make Trial what Depth and Breadth the Mine holds, and whether or no it answer our Hopes. And if you find it Royal, and the *Spaniards* begin to war upon you, then let the Serjeant Major repel them, if it be in his Power, and drive them as far as he can. But if you find that the Mine be not so rich as it may persuade the holding of it, and draw on a second Supply, then shall you bring but a Basket or two, to satisfy his Majesty that my Design was not imaginary but true, though not answerable to his Majesty's Expectation, for the Quantity of which I never gave Assurance, nor could.

On the other Side, if you shall find that any great Number of Soldiers be newly sent into *Orconoko*, as the *Cassique* of *Caliana* told us that they were, and that the Passages be already forc'd ; so that without manifest Peril of my Son, your self, and other Captains, you cannot pass toward the Mine, then be well advised how you land ; for I know (a few Gentlemen excepted) what a Scum of Men you have ; and I would not for all the World receive a Blow from the *Spaniards* to the Dishonour of our Nation : I myself for my Weakness cannot be present, neither will the Company land, except I stay with the Ships, the Galleons of *Spain* being daily expected. *Piggot* the Serjeant-Major is dead. Sir *Warrham* my Lieutenant, without Hope of Life, and my Nephew your Serjeant-Major

now but a young Man : It is therefore on your Judgment that I rely, whom I trust God will direct for the best.

Let me hear from you as soon as you can ; you shall find me at *Punto Gallo*, dead or alive ; and if you find not my Ships there, yet you shall find their Ashes ; for I will fire with the Galleons, if it come to Extremity, but run away I will never."

That these my Instructions were not followed, was not my Fault ; but it seems that the Serjeant-Major, *Keymis* and the rest, were by Accident forced to change their first Resolution, and that finding a *Spanish* Town or rather a Village, set up twenty Miles distant from the Place where *Antonio Berreo* the first Governor by me taken in my first Discovery, who had attempted to plant, to wit, some two Leagues to the Westward of the Mine, they agreed to land and encamp between the Mine and the Town, which they did not suspect to be so near them as it was. And meaning to rest themselves on the River's Side till the next Day ; they were in the Night set upon and charged by the *Spaniards*, which being unlook'd for, the common Sort of them were so amazed, as had not the Captains and some other valiant Gentlemen made a Head, and encouraged the rest, they had all been broken and cut in Pieces. To repel this Force, putting themselves in Order, they charged the *Spaniards*, and following them upon their Retreat, they were ready to enter the Town, e're they knew where they were ; and being then charged again by the Governor, and four or five Captains which led their Companies ; my Son not tarrying for my Musketeers ran up in the Head of a Company of Pikes, where he was first shot, and pressing upon a *Spanish* Captain called *Erinetta* with his Sword, *Erinetta*, taking the small End of his Musket in his Hand, struck him on the Head with the Stock, and fell'd him ; whom again *John Plesington*, my Son's Serjeant, thrust through with his Halbert ; at which time also the Governor

Governor *Diego Palmeque*, and the rest of the *Spanish* Captains being slain, and their Companies divided, they betook themselves into a House or Hold, adjoining to the Market-Place, whereby they slew and wounded the *English* at their Pleasure; so as we had no Way to save our selves, but by firing those Houses adjoining, which done, all the *Spaniards* ran into the bordering Woods and Hills, keeping the *English* still waking with perpetual Alarms.

The Town, such as it was, being in this Sort possess'd, *Keymis* prepared to discover the Mine, which at this Time he was resolv'd to do, as appeareth by his Letter to me of his own Hand-writing, hereafter inserted. He took with him Captain *Thornburst*, Master *William Herbert*, Sir *John Hambden*, and others; but, at his first Approach near the Bank where he meant to land, he received from the Wood a Volley of Shot, which slew two of his Company, hurt six others, and wounded Captain *Thornburst* in the Head, of the which he languish'd three Months after.

Keymis his LETTER, dated the eighth of January, from Oroonoko.

“ ALL Things that appertain to human Condition,
 “ **A** in that proper Nature and Sense, that of Fate
 “ and Necessity belongeth unto them, being now over
 “ with your Son, maketh me choose rather with Grief
 “ to let you know from me this certain Truth than
 “ Uncertainties from others; which is, *viz.* That had
 “ not his extraordinary Valour and Forwardness, which
 “ with constant Vigour of Mind, being in the Hands
 “ of Death his last Breath expressed in these Words,
 “ (*Lord have Mercy upon me and prosper your Enterprize.*)
 “ led them all on, when some began to pause and
 “ recoil shamefully; this Action had neither been
 “ attempted

“ attempted as it was, nor performed as it is, with this
 “ surviving Honour.

“ This *Indian Pilot* whom I have sent, if there be
 “ Occasion to use his Service in any thing, will prove
 “ sufficient and trusty: *Peter Andrewes*, whom I have
 “ sent with him, can better certify your Lordship of
 “ the State of the Town, the Plenty, the Condition
 “ of our Men, &c. than I can write the same.

“ We have the Governor's Servant Prisoner, that
 “ waited on him in his Bed-chamber, and knows all
 “ Things that concerned his Master. We find there
 “ are four Refiners Houses in the Town; the best
 “ Houses of the Town. I have not seen one Piece
 “ of Coin, or Bullion, neither Gold or Silver; a
 “ small deal of Plate only excepted.

“ Captain *Whitney* and *Woollastone* are but now come
 “ to us, and now I purpose (God willing) without
 “ Delay to visit the Mine, which is not eight Miles
 “ in the Town. Sooner I could not go by Reason
 “ of the Murmurings, the Discords and Vexations,
 “ wherewith the Serjeant-Major is perpetually tor-
 “ mented and tired, having no Man to assist him
 “ but my self only. Things are now in some reason-
 “ able Order, and so soon as I have made Trial of
 “ the Mine, I will seek to come to your Lordship,
 “ by the Way of the River. To go and to search
 “ the Channels (that if it be possible) our Ships may
 “ shorten the Course for *Trinidado*, when Time serves,
 “ by those Passages. I have sent your Lordship a Par-
 “ cel of scatter'd Papers (I reserve a Cart Load) one
 “ Roll of Tobacco, one Tortoise, and some Oranges
 “ and Lemons, praying God to give you Strength
 “ and Health of Body, and a Mind armed against all
 “ Extremities. I rest ever to be commanded this 8th
 “ of *January*, 1617.”

Your Lordship's

K E Y M I S.
 Now

Now it seems that the Death of my Son, fearing also (as he told me when he came to *Trinidado*) that I was either dead of my first Sickness, or that the News of my Son's Death would have hastened my End, made him resolve not to open the Mine, to the which he added for Excuse (and I think it was true,) that the *Spaniards* being gone off in a whole Body, lay in the Woods between the Mine and their Passage; it was impossible, except they had been beaten out of the Country, to pass up the woody and craggy Hills, without the Loss of those Commanders which should have led them, who had they been slain, the rest, would easily enough have been cut in Pieces in their Retreat; for being in Possession of the Town, which they guarded with the greatest Part of three Companies, they had yet their Hands full to defend themselves from firing, and the daily and nightly Alarms wherewith they were vexed. He also gave forth the Excuse that it was impossible to lodge any Companies at the Mine, for Want of Victual, which from the Town they were not able to carry up the Mountain, their Companies being divided; he therefore as he told me, thinking it a greater Error to discover it to the *Spaniards*, themselves neither being able to work it, nor possess it, than to excuse himself to the Company, said that he could not find it. All which his Fancies when I received, and before divers of the Gentlemen disavowed his Ignorance; for I told him that a blind Man might find it, by the Marks which himself had set down under his Hand; then I told him that his Care of losing so many Men in passing through the Woods, was but feigned; for after my Son was slain, I knew that he had no Care at all of any Man surviving, and therefore had he brought to the King but one hundred Weight of the Oar, though with the Loss of one hundred Men, he had given his Majesty Satisfaction, preserved my Reputation, and given
our

our Nation Encouragement to have returned this next Year, with greater Force, and to have held the Country for his Majesty; to whom it belonged, and of which himself had given the Testimony, that besides the excellent Air, Pleasantness, Healthfulness, and Riches, it hath Plenty of Corn, Fruits, Fish, Fowl, wild and tame, Beeves, Horses, Sheep, Hogs, Deers, Coneys, Hares, Tortoises, Armadiles, Wanaes, Oyles, Honey, Wax, Potatoes, Sugar-Canes, Medicaments, Balsamum, Simples, Gums, and what not: but seeing he had followed his own Advice, and not mine, I should be forced to leave him to the Arguments; with the which if he could satisfy his Majesty, and the State, I should be glad of it, though for my Part he must excuse me to justify it, that he, if it had pleased him, though with some Loss of Men, might have gone directly to the Place. With that he seemed greatly discontent, and so he continued divers Days; afterward he came to me in my Cabbin, and shewed me a Letter which he had written to the Earl of *Arundel*, to whom he excused himself, for not discovering of the Mine, using the same Arguments, and many others which he had done before, and prayed me to allow of his Apology; but I told him that he had undone me by his Obstinacy, and that I would not favour or colour in any Sort his former Folly. He then asked me, whether that were my Resolution, I answered, that it was: He then replied in these Words, I know not then, Sir, what Course to take; and went out of my Cabbin into his own, in which he was no sooner entered but I heard a Pistol go off. I sent up (not suspecting any such thing as the killing of himself) to know who shot a Pistol, *Keymis* himself made answer, lying on his Bed, that he had shot it off, because it had been long charged, with which I was satisfied; some half Hour after this, the Boy going into his Cabbin, found him dead, having a long Knife thrust under his left Pap through his Heart, and his Pistol lying by him,

him, with which it appeared that he had shot himself; but the Bullet lighting upon a Rib, had but broken the Rib, and went no further. Now he that knew *Keymis*, did also know that he was of that obstinate Resolution, and a Man so far from caring to please or satisfy any Man but myself, as no Man's Opinion from the greatest to the least, could have persuaded him to have laid violent Hands on himself; neither would he have done it, when he did it, could he have said unto me, that he was ignorant of that Place, and knew no such Mine; for what Cause had I then to have rejected his Excuses, or to have laid his Obstinacy to his Charge? Thus much I have added, because there are some Puppies which have given it out, that *Keymis* slew himself because he had seduced so many Gentlemen and others with an imaginary Mine; but as his Letter to me the 8th of *January* proves that he was then resolved to open it, and to take off all these Kinds of Objections, let Captain *Charles Parker*, Captain *George Raleigh*, and Captain *King*, all living and in *England*, be put to their Oaths, whether or no *Keymis* did not confess to them coming down the River, at a Place where they cast anchor, that he could from that Place have gone to the Mine in two Hours. I say then, that if the Opening of the Mine had been at that Time to any Purpose; or had they had any Victuals left then, to bring them away, or had they not been hastened by seeing the King of *Spain's* Letters before they came to my Hands, which I am assured *Keymis* had seen, who delivered them to me, whereof one of them was dated at *Madrid* the 17th of *March*, before I left the River *Thames*, and with it, three other Dispatches, with a Commission for the strengthening of *Oroonoko* with one hundred and fifty Soldiers, which should have come down the River from the new Kingdom of *Granada*; and one other, one hundred and fifty from *Puerto Rico*, with ten Pieces of Ordnance, which should have come up the River from the Entrance, by which

which two Troops they might have been inclosed; I say, had not the rest seen those Dispatches; and that having staid in the River above two Months, they feared the hourly Arrival of those Forces, why had they not constrained *Keymis* to have brought them to the Mine, being, as himself confesses, within two Hours March. Again, had the Companies Commanders but pinched the Governor's Man whom they had in their Possession, he could have told them of two or three Gold Mines and a Silver Mine, not above four Miles from the Town, and given them the Names of their Possessors; with the Reason why they forbore to work them at that Time, and when they left off from working them, which they did as well because they wanted Negroes, as because they feared lest the *English, French, or Dutch* would have forced them from those, being once thoroughly opened, having not sufficient Strength to defend themselves. But to this, I have heard it said since my Return, that the Governor's Man was by me persuaded, being in my Power, to say that such Mines there were, when indeed there was no such Thing. Certainly they were but silly Fools, that discovered this Subtilty of mine, who having not yet by the long Calenture that weakened me, lost all my Wits, which I must have done, if I had left my Reputation in Trust with a Mulatto, who for a Pot or two of Wine, for a Dozen of Hatchets, or a gay Suit of Apparel, would have confessed, that I had taught him to speak of Mines, that were not in *Rerum Natura*. No, I protest before the Majesty of God, that without any other Agreements, or Promise of mine, than well Usage, he hath discovered to me the Way to five or six of the richest Mines which the *Spaniards* have, and from whence all the Mass of Gold that comes into *Spain* in Effect is drawn.

Lastly, when the Ships were come down the River, as far as *Carapana's* Country (who was one of the natural Lords) and one that reserved that Part of *Guiana*

to her Majesty, hearing that the *English* had abandoned *St. Thome*, and left no Force in the Country, which he hoped they would have done; he sent a great Canoo, with store of Fruits and Provisions to the Captains, and by one of his Men which spake *Spanish*, having as it seemed been long in their Hands, he offered them a rich Gold Mine in his own Country, knowing it to be the best Argument to persuade their Stay; and if it pleased them to send up any one of the *English* to view it, he would leave sufficient Pledges for his safe Return; Master *Leake*, Master *Moleneux*, and others offering themselves. Which when the greater Part refused (I know not by what Reason led) he sent again, (leaving one of his Men still aboard) to entreat them to tarry but two Days, and he himself would come to them, and bring them a Sample of the Ore; for he was an exceeding old Man, when I was first in the Country some twenty four Years since: Which being also neglected, and the Ships under sail, he notwithstanding sent a Boat after them to the very Mouth of the River, in Hope to persuade them. That this is true, witness Captain *Parker*, Captain *Leake*, Master *Stresham*, Master *Maudiet*, Master *Moleneux*, Master *Robert Hamon*, Master *Nicholes*, Captain *King*, *Peter Andrews*, and I know not how many others. But to set aside his Offer also, there hath not been wanting an Argument, though a foolish one; which was, that the *Spaniards* had employed the *Indians* with a Purpose to betray our Men. But this Treason had been easily prevented, if they had staid the old Man's coming, who would have brought them the Gold Ore aboard their Ships; and what Purpose could there be of Treason, when the *Guianians* offered to leave Pledges six for one? Yea, one of the *Indians* which the *English* had aboard them, whom they found in Fetters when they took the Town of *St. Thome*, could have told them, that the *Cassique* which sent unto them to shew them the Gold Mine in his Country, was unconquered, and

and an Enemy to the *Spaniard*, and could also have assured them, that this *Cassique* had Gold Mines in his Country.

I say then, that if they would neither force *Keymis* to go to the Mine, when he was by his own Confession within two Hours March of it, to examine from whence these two Ingots of Gold which they brought me, were taken, which they found laid by for King's *quinto* or fifth Part, or those small Pieces of Silver, which had the same Marks and Stamps: if they refused to send any one of the Fleet into the Country to see the Mines which the *Cassique Carapana* offered them: if they would not vouchsafe to stay two Days for the coming of *Carapana* himself, who would have brought them a Sample of the Gold Ore: I say, that there is no Reason to lay it to my Charge, that I carried them with a Pretence of Gold, when neither *Keymis* nor myself knew of any in those Parts. If it had been to have gotten my Liberty, why did I not keep my Liberty when I had it? Nay, why did I put my Life in manifest Peril to forego it? If I had had a Purpose to have turned Pirate, why did I oppose myself against the greatest Number of my Company, and was thereby in Danger to be slain or cast into the Sea, because I refused it?

A strange Fancy had it been in me to have persuaded my Son whom I have lost, and to have persuaded my Wife to have adventured the eight thousand Pound which his Majesty gave them for *Sherbone*, and when that was spent, to persuade my Wife to sell her House at *Mitcham*, in Hope of enriching them by the Mines of *Guiana*; if I myself had not seen them with my own Eyes; for being old and weakly, thirteen Years in Prison, and not used to the Air, to travel, and to watching, it being ten to one that I should ever have returned, and of which by Reason of my violent Sickness, and the long Continuance thereof, no Man had any Hope; what Madness could have

have made me undertake this Journey, but the Assurance of the Mine, thereby to have done his Majesty Service, to have bettered my Country by the Trade, and to have restored my Wife and Children their States they had lost, for which, I have refused all other Ways or Means; for that I had no Purpose to have changed my Master, and my Country, my Return in the State I did return, may satisfy every honest and indifferent Man.

An unfortunate Man I am, and it is to me a greater Loss than all I have lost, that it pleaseth his Majesty to be offended for the burning of a *Spanish* Town in *Guiana*; of which these Parts bordering the River of *Oroonoko*, and to the South as far as the *Amazones*, doth by the Law of Nations belong to the Crown of *England*, as his Majesty was well resolved when I prepared to go thither; otherwise his Majesty would not have given once Leave to have landed there; for I set it down under my Hand, that I intended that Enterprize, and nothing else; and that I meant to enter the Country by the River *Oroonoko*; and it was not held to be a Breach of Peace neither by the State here, nor the *Spanish* Ambassador, who knew it as well as I, that I pretended the Journey of *Guiana*, which he always held to be a Pretence; for he said it to Master Secretary *Windode*, and to others of my Lords, that if I meant to sail to *Guiana*, and had no Intent to invade any Part of his Majesty's West *Indies*, nor his Fleets, I should not need to strengthen myself as I did, for I should work any Mine there, without any Disturbance, and in Peace. To which I made Answer, that I had set it under my Hand to his Majesty, that I had no other Purpose, nor meant to undertake any Thing else; but for the rest, that Sir *John Hawkins*, in his Journey to *St. John de Loa*, notwithstanding that he had Leave of the *Spanish* King to trade in all Parts of the West *Indies*, and having the Plate Fleet in his Power, did not take out of it one Ounce of Silver, but kept

kept his Faith and Promise in all Places, was set upon by Don *Henrico de Martines*, whom he suffered (to save him from perishing) to enter the Port upon *Martin's* Faith, and interchanged Pledges delivered; he had *Jesus* of *Lubeck*, a Ship of her Majesty's of a thousand Tun, burnt; had his Men slain which he left on the Land; lost his Ordnance, and all the Treasure which he had got by Trade. What Reason had I to go unarm'd upon the Ambassador's Promises, whose Words and Thoughts that they were one, it hath well appeared since then, as well by the Forces which he persuaded his Master to send to *Guiana*, to encounter me, and cut me off there, as by his persecuting me since my Return; who have neither invaded his Master's *Indies*, nor his Fleet, whereof he stood in doubt.

True it is, that the *Spaniards* cannot endure that the *English* Nation should look upon any Part of *America*, being above a fourth Part of the whole known World; and the hundredth Part neither possessed by the *Spaniards*, nor to them known, as *Acosta* the Jesuit, in his Description of the West *Indies* doth confess, and well knows to be true: No, though the King of *Spain* can pretend no other Title to all that he hath not conquer'd, than the *Pope's* Donation, for from the Straights of *Magellan* to the River of *Plate*, being a greater Territory than all that the *Spaniards* possess in *Peru* or *Chile*, and from Cape St. *Augustine* to *Trinidad*, being a greater Extent of Land than all which he possesses in *Nova Spain*, or elsewhere, they have not one Foot of Ground in their Possession, neither for the greatest Part of it so much as in their own Knowledge.

In *Oroonoko* they have lately set up a wooden Town, and made a Kind of a Fort, but they have never been able either to conquer the *Guianians*, nor to reconcile them; but the *Guianians* before their planting there did willingly resign all that Territory to her Majesty, who by me promised to receive them, and defend them against the *Spaniards*. And though

I were

I were a Prisoner for this last fourteen Years, yet I was at the Charge every Year, or every second Year, to send unto them to keep them in Hope of being relieved. And, as I have said before, the greatest of the natural Lords, did offer us a a rich Mine of Gold in his own Country in Hope to hold us there. And if this usurped Possession of the *Spaniards* be a sufficient Bar to his Majesty's Right, and that thereby the King of *Spain* calls himself King of *Guiana*, why might he not as well call himself Duke of *Brittain*, because he took Possession of *Blewet*, and built a Fort there, and calls himself King of *Ireland*, because he took Possession at *Smereck* and built a Fort there.

If the Ambassador had protested to his Majesty that my going to *Guiana* before I went would be a Breach to the Peace, I am persuaded that his Majesty, if he had not been resolved that *Guiana* had been his, would have stayed me, but if it be not thought to be a Breach of Peace not for the going thither (for that cannot be) because I had no other Intent, and went with leave; but for taking and burning of a *Spanish* Town in the Country, certainly, if the Country be the King of *Spain's*, it had been no less a Breach of Peace to have wrought any Mine of his, and to have robbed him of his Gold, than it is now call'd a Breach of Peace to take a Town of his in *Guiana*, and burn it: and with as good Reason might I have been called a Thief and a Robber of the King of *Spain*, if the Country be not his Majesty's, as I am now pursued for the Invasion; for either the Country is the King of *Spain's* or the King's; if it be the King's, I have not then offended; if it be not the King's, I must have perished, if I had but taken Gold out of the Mines there, though I had found no *Spaniards* in the Country.

For Conclusion, if we had had any Peace with the *Spaniards* in those Parts of the World, why did even those *Spaniards*, which were now encountered in *Gu-*

iana, tye six and thirty *English* Men out of Master *Wall's* Ship of *London* and mine back to back, and cut their Throats, after they had traded with them a whole Month, and came to them ashore, having not so much as a Sword, or any other Weapon, among them all? And if the *Spaniards* to our Complaints made answer, that there was nothing in the Treaty against our trading in the *Indies*, but that we might trade at our Peril; I trust in God that the Word Peril shall ever be construed to be indifferent to both Nations; otherwise we must for ever abandon the *Indies*, and lose all our Knowledge, and our Pilotage of that Part of the World. If we have no other Peace than this how can there be a Breach of Peace? Since the *Spaniards* with all Nations, and all Nations with them, may trade upon their guard.

The readiest Way that the *Spaniards* Ambassador could have taken, to have stayed me from going to *Guiana*, had been to have discovered the great Practices, which I had with his Master against the King my sovereign Lord in the first Year of his Majesty's Reign of *Great Britain*, for which I lost my Estate and lay thirteen Years in the Tower of *London*, and not to urge my Offences in *Guiana*; to which his Master hath no Title other than his Sword, with which to this Day he hath not conquered the least of these Nations, and against whom, contrary to the Catholick Profession, his Captains have entertained, and do entertain whole Nations of Cannibals. For in a Letter of the Governors to the King of *Spain*, of the eighth of *July*, he not only complaineth that the *Guianians* are in Arms against him, but that even those *Indians* which under their Noses live, do in Despight of all the King's Edicts trade with *Los Flamnicos & Engleses Enemigos*, with the *Flemish*, and *English Enemies*, never once naming the *English Nations* but with the Epithet of an Enemy.

But

But in Truth the *Spanish* Ambassador hath complained against me to no other End, than to prevent my Complaints against the *Spaniards*, who landing my Men in a Territory appertaining to the Crown of *England*, they were invaded and slain before any Violence offered to the *Spaniards*; and I hope that the Ambassador doth not esteem us for so wretched and miserable a People, as to offer our Throats to their Swords without any Manner of Resistance. Howsoever, I have said it already, and I will say it again, that if *Guiana* be not his Majesty's, the Working of a Mine there, and the taking of a Town there, had been equally perilous; for by doing the one, I had robbed the King of *Spain*, and been a Thief; and by the other, a Disturber or Breaker of the Peace.

A Letter of Sir WALTER RAWLEIGH to my Lord CAREW touching Guiana.

“ **B**Ecause I know not whether I shall live to come
 “ before the Lords, I have for his Majesty's Satisfaction here set down as much as I can say, either for mine own Defence, or against myself, as Things are now construed.

“ It is true, that though I acquainted his Majesty
 “ with my Intent to land in *Guiana*, yet I never made
 “ it known to his Majesty that the *Spaniards* had any
 “ footing there; neither had I any Authority by Patent, to remove them from thence, and therefore
 “ his Majesty had no Interest in the Attempt of *Saint Thome*, by any Foreknowledge in his Majesty.

“ But knowing his Majesty's Title to the Country
 “ to be best, and most Christian, because the natural
 “ Lords did most willingly acknowledge Queen *Elizabeth*
 “ to be their Sovereign, who by me promised
 “ to defend them from the *Spanish* Cruelty, I made

“ no Doubt but I might enter the Land by Force,
 “ seeing the *Spaniards* had no other Title but Force,
 “ (the *Pope's* Donation excepted) considering also that
 “ they had got a Possession there divers Years since
 “ my Possession for the Crown of *England*; for were not
 “ *Guiana* his Majesty's, then might I as well have been
 “ questioned for a Thief, for taking the Gold out of
 “ the King of *Spain's* Mines, as the *Spaniards* do now
 “ call me a Peace-breaker; for, from any Territory
 “ that belongs to the King of *Spain*, it is no more
 “ lawful to take Gold, than lawful for the *Spaniards*
 “ to take Tin out of *Cornwall*. Were this Possession
 “ of theirs a sufficient Bar to his Majesty's Right, the
 “ Kings of *Spain* may as well call themselves Dukes
 “ of *Brittain*, because they held *Blewet*, and for-
 “ tified there, and Kings of *Ireland* because they
 “ possessed *Smereck* and fortified there, and so in other
 “ Places.

“ That his Majesty was well resolved of his Right
 “ there, I make no kind of Doubt, because the
 “ *English* both under Master *Charles Leigh* and Master
 “ *Harecourt* had leave to plant and inhabit the Coun-
 “ try.

“ The *Oroonoko* itself, had long ere this had five
 “ thousand *English* in it, I assure myself, had not my
 “ Employment at *Cales*, the next Year after my Re-
 “ turn from *Guiana*, and after that our Journey to the
 “ Islands hindered me for those two Years, after which
 “ *Tiron's* Rebellion, made her Majesty unwilling
 “ that any great Number of Ships or Men should be
 “ taken out of *England*, till that Rebellion were end-
 “ ed. And lastly, her Majesty's Death, and my long
 “ Imprisonment, gave Time to the *Spaniards* to set up
 “ a Town of Sticks covered with Leaves of Trees
 “ upon the Bank of *Oroonoko*, which they call St.
 “ *Thome*; but they have neither reconciled nor con-
 “ quered any of the *Cassiques* or natural Lords of the
 “ Country, which *Cassiques* are still in Arms against
 “ them,

“ them, as by the Governor’s Letter to the King of
 “ *Spain*, may appear. That by landing in *Guiana*
 “ there can be any Breach of Peace, I think it (under
 “ Favour) impossible; for to break Peace where there
 “ is no Peace, it cannot be; that the *Spaniards* give
 “ us no Peace there, it doth appear by the King’s
 “ Letters to the Governor, that they should put to
 “ Death all those *Spaniards* and *Indians* that trade
 “ *Con los Engleses Enemigos*, with *English* Enemies. Yea
 “ those very *Spaniards* which we encountred at St.
 “ *Thome*, did of late Years murther six and thirty
 “ of Master *Hale*’s Men of *London*, and mine, who
 “ landed without Weapon, upon the *Spaniard*’s Faith
 “ to trade with them. Master *Thorne* also in *Tower-*
 “ *street* in *London*, besides many other *English* were in
 “ like Sort murthered in *Oroonoko*, the Year before
 “ my Delivery out of the *Tower*.

“ Now if this Kind of Trade be peaceable, there
 “ is then a peaceable Trade in the *Indies*, between us
 “ and the *Spaniards*; but if this be cruel War and Ha-
 “ tred, and no Peace, then there is no Peace broken
 “ by our Attempt. Again, how doth it stand with the
 “ Greatness of the King of *Spain*, first to call us Ene-
 “ mies, when he did hope to cut us in Pieces, and
 “ then having failed, to call us Peace-breakers: For to
 “ be an Enemy and a Peace-breaker in one and the
 “ same Action is impossible.

“ But the King of *Spain* in his Letter to the Go-
 “ vernor of *Guiana*, dated at *Madrid* the 29th of
 “ *March*, before we left the *Thames*, calls us *Engleses*
 “ *Enemigos*, *English* Enemies.

“ If it had pleased the King of *Spain* to have written
 “ to his Majesty in seven Months Time, for we were
 “ so long in preparing, and have made his Majesty
 “ know, that our landing in *Guiana* would draw after
 “ it a Breach of Peace, I presume to think that his
 “ Majesty would have staid our Enterprize for the
 “ present.

“ This he might have done with less Charge, than
“ to leavy three hundred Soldiers, and transport ten
“ Pieces of Ordnance from *Porto Rico*, which Soldiers
“ added to the Garrison of *St. Thome*, had they ar-
“ rived before our coming, had overthrown all our
“ raw Companies, and there would have followed no
“ Complaints.

“ For the main Point of landing near *St. Thome*,
“ it is true, that we were of Opinion, that we must
“ have driven the *Spaniards* out of the Town, before
“ we could pass the thick Woods upon the Moun-
“ tains to the Mine; which I confesse I did first resolve
“ upon, but better bethinking my self, I referred the
“ taking of the Town, to the Goodness of the Mine,
“ which if they found to be so rich, as it might per-
“ suade the leaving of the Garrison, than to drive the
“ *Spaniards* thence; but to have burnt was never my
“ Intent, neither could they give me any Reason why
“ they did. Upon their Return, I examined the
“ Serjeant-Major and *Keymis* why they followed not
“ my last Directions for the Trial of the Mine before
“ the taking of the Town; and they answered me,
“ that although they durst hardly go to the Mine,
“ leaving a Garrison of *Spaniards* between them
“ and their Boats, yet they offended their latter Di-
“ rections, and did land between the Town and
“ the Mine.

“ And that the *Spaniards* without any Manner of
“ Parly set upon them unawares, and charged them,
“ calling them *Perros Ingleses*, and by skirmishing with
“ them, they drew them on to the very Entrance of
“ the Town before they knew where they were; so
“ that if any Peace had been in those Parts, the *Spa-*
“ *niards* first brake the Peace, and made the first
“ Slaughter; for as the *English* could not but land to
“ seek the Mine, being come thither to that End,
“ so being first reviled, and charged by the *Spaniards*,
“ they

“ they could do no less than repel Force by Force.
“ Lastly, it is a Matter of no small Consequence to
“ acknowledge that we have offended the King of
“ *Spain* by landing in *Guiana*. For first it weakens
“ his Majesty’s Title to the Country, or quits it; se-
“ condly, there is no King that hath ever given the
“ least Way to any other King or State in the Traffick
“ of the Lives or Goods of his Subjects; to wit, in
“ our Case, that it shall be lawful for the *Spaniards* to
“ murther us, either by Force or Treason, and un-
“ lawful for us to defend ourselves and pay them with
“ their own Coin; for this Superiority and Inferiority
“ is a Thing which no absolute Monarch ever yielded
“ to, or ever will.

“ Thirdly, it shews the *English* bears greater Re-
“ spect to the *Spaniard*, and is more doubtful of his
“ Forces, than either the *French* or *Dutch* is, who
“ daily invade all Parts of the *Indies* without being
“ questioned at their Return. Yea, at my own being
“ at *Plimouth*, a *French* Gentleman, called *Flory*, went
“ thence with four sail, and three hundred Land
“ Men, with Commission to land and burn, and to
“ sack all Places in the *Indies* that he could master,
“ and yet the *French* King hath married the Daugh-
“ ter of *Spain*.

“ This is all that I can say, other than that I
“ have spent my poor Estate, lost my Son, and my
“ Health, and endured as many Sorts of Miseries,
“ as ever Man did, in Hope to do his Majesty ac-
“ ceptable Service; and have not to my Understanding
“ committed any hostile Act, other than Entrance
“ upon a Territory belonging rightly to the Crown
“ of *England*, where the *English* were first set upon
“ and slain by the usurping *Spaniards*. I invaded
“ no other Parts of the *Indies*, pretended to by the
“ *Spaniards*.

“ I returned into *England* with manifest Peril
 “ of my Life, with a Purpose not to hold my Life
 “ with any other than his Majesty's Grace, and from
 “ which no Man, nor any Peril could dissuade me;
 “ to that Grace, and Goodness, and Kingliness I
 “ refer myself, which if it shall find that I have not
 “ yet suffered enough, it yet may please to add more
 “ Affliction to the Remainder of a wretched Life.

*Sir WALTER RALEIGH his Answer to some
 Things at his Death.*

“ I Did never receive any Direction from my Lord
 “ *Carew*, to make any Escape, nor did I ever tell
 “ *Stukely* my such Thing. I did never name my Lord
 “ *Hay* and my Lord *Carew* to *Stukely* in other Words
 “ or Sense, than as my honourable Friends, among
 “ other Lords. I did never shew unto *Stukely* any Let-
 “ ter, wherein there was ten thousand Pounds named
 “ or any one Pound; only I told him, that I hoped
 “ to procure the Payment of his Debts in his Absence.
 “ I never had Commission from the *French* King, I
 “ never saw the *French* King's Hand or Seal in my
 “ Life. I never had any Plot or Practice with the
 “ *French* directly or indirectly, nor with any other
 “ Prince or State unknown to the King. My true
 “ Intent was to go to a Mine of Gold in *Guiana*; it
 “ was not feigned, but it is true, that such a Mine
 “ there is within three Miles of *St. Thome*. I never
 “ had in my thought to go from *Trinidado*, and leave
 “ my Companies to come after to the Savage Island,
 “ as *Hatby Fearne* hath falsely reported. I did not
 “ carry with me an hundred Pieces, I had with me
 “ sixty, and brought back near the said Number. I
 “ never spake to the *French* Manerling any one dis-
 “ loyal Word, or dishonourable Speech of the King;
 “ nay,

“ nay, if I had not loved the King truly, and trusted
“ in his Goodness somewhat too much, I know that
“ I had not now suffered Death.

“ These Things are most true as there is a God,
“ and as I am now to appear before his tribunal
“ Seat, where I renounce all Mercy, and Salvation, if
“ this be not the Truth. At my Death.

W. R.



An INTRODUCTION to a

B R E V I A R Y

OF THE

History of *E N G L A N D*

WITH THE

R E I G N

OF


King *William* the Ist,

Entitled the

C O N Q U E R O R.



T H E
P R E F A C E
O F T H E F I R S T
P U B L I S H E R.

 *HIS Life of William the Conqueror, writ by Sir Walter Raleigh, was found in the Library of a Person of high Quality. Whosoever hath been conversant in the Works of that accomplish'd Knight, and a little acquainted with his great Genius and Spirit, and his manly and unaffected Stile, will make no Doubt, but what here is presented unto the World was his genuine Issue.*

For the comprehensive and penetrating Thoughts, the lively Imagination, and the mature and exact Judgment of Sir Walter Raleigh, do all manifestly appear in this small Treatise.

It may be Matter of some Wonder, that a Work filled with such a Number of judicious Reflections upon the Nature of Government in General, and so many wise Observations relating to the particular State of our own Country, should have been thus long condemn'd to Obscurity,

The P R E F A C E.

scurity, had not an ill Fate attended the learned Compositions, as well as the brave Actions of this renowned Gentleman.

But by what unhappy Accident soever it hath been hitherto confined to Privacy, it was thought it would be an Injury to the publick any longer to conceal a just and true Account of the Reign of William the First, wherein so many remarkable Matters, and great Revolutions happened, and to which the Writers of Government and Policy in our Nation have very frequent Recourse ; since the Transactions of that Time, unto which they so commonly appeal, are here related with that Faithfulness, Brevity, and Clearness, that become an exact Historian.





A

B R E V I A R Y

O F T H E

History of *ENGLAND*;

Beginning at the REIGN of

WILLIAM the 1st.

ENTITLED the CONQUEROR.

The *I N T R O D U C T I O N*.

§ 1.



Intend by the Help of God, and your Furtherance (Right Noble Earl of *Salisbury*) to write a brief History of *England*, from *William* I. entitled the Conqueror, to the End of the

Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* of perpetual Memory: A Work difficult, as well for the Antiquity, as the Lateliness of Things done; the one bereaving our Knowledge of the certain Counsels held in the managing of
Business

Business so long past; the other not allowing our Understanding the inward and particular Motives of such Actions, as are so near us. Yet according to my Collections out of those antient Remains that are left unto the World, and the Conferences, Acts, and Instruments of later Times, I will deliver the Succession and Course of our Affairs, insomuch as shall be fit for the publick Understanding, without Passion or Partiality; endeavouring to be of no other Side than of Truth, as it shall appear to my Apprehension.

§ 2. And though I had a Desire to have deduced this History from the Beginning of our first Kings, as they are delivered in their Catalogue; yet finding their Actions uncertainly delivered, and the Beginning of all eminent States to be as uncertain, as the Heads of great Rivers; and that idle Antiquity, discovering no apparent Way beyond their Times, have ever delighted to point Men out into imaginary Tracts of Fictions, and monstrous Originals; I did put off that Desire with this Consideration, that this Space of five hundred Years, which comprehends the Government of twenty Kings, and two sovereign Queens, was more than enough for my Leisure, and Ability; weighing withal, that it is but mere Curiosity to look further back into the Times past, than we can well discern, and whereof we can neither have Proof nor Profit. Besides, it seemeth that God in his Providence hath bounded our Searches within the Compass of a few Ages, as if the same were sufficient, both for Example and Instruction in the Government of Men: For had we the particular Occurrents of all Nations, and all Ages, it might more stuff, but not better our Understanding. We shall find the same Correspondencies to hold in the Actions of Men; Virtues and Vices the same; though rising and falling according to the Worth, or Weakness of Governors; the Causes of the Ruins, and Changes of Commonwealths to be alike, and the
Train

Train of Affairs carried by the Precedent in a Course of Succession under like Figures.

§ 3. But yet, for that this Chain of Affairs hath a Link of Dependency to the former Times, it shall not be amiss, briefly to repeat the three Mutations in the State foregoing this last Conquest, since the Time that Letters and Christianity were here received, which left more certain Knowledge of Things done, though not in that Sort, as we can assuredly learn, either the Form of the *British* Government under their Kings; or by what Rule, they held together; whether their petty Princes (whereof they had many) were subject to one Monarch, or all Sovereign alike; whether any Parties did cantonize, or were free Estates, or Common-wealths, as peradventure they might be, as well as the *Gauls*, with whom they were one in Language; or the *Germans*, antient Precedents of like Liberties. For no Doubt, the same Necessity that is the Mother of Society, and Contriver of Men's Defences, and Safeties, finds out like Forms of Government, in like Times, upon like Occasions. But insomuch, as is delivered in these uncertain Antiquities, we find, this Isle was never, or never long subject to one entire Monarch, but ruled by divers Kings.

§ 4. And so *Cæsar* found it; and thereby found the easier Means to subdue it; which was the first Dissolution of the State, after it had remained under the Government of the *Britons* (as say our Stories) one thousand and sixty Years, from *Brutus* to *Cassibalan*. And yet the State then seem'd by this Conquest, to lose little, besides their savage Liberty, being reduced to civil Subjection; for the Vanquisher sought not to extirpate the Nation, but to maintain and improve it. And under this Government it remained almost five hundred Years, until the Division of the *Roman* Empire in the Time of *Theodosius*; when it became neglected, and recovered again the State of the Kingdom

dom under Princes partly *British* and partly *Romans*; which by Reason of continual Tumults and Mutinies, seemed never to have held any calm or flourishing Government worthy the observing; and in the End *Vortigern* an Earl of the * *Guiffes*, abusing the Weakness of *Constantius*, supplanted him, and obtained the Kingdom: Which the better to keep against *Aurelius* and *Pendragon* the Sons of *Constantius*, and also to oppose against the Invasion of the *Picts* and *Scots*, he called in the *Saxons* to his Aid.

§ 5. Who entring this Land under the Conduct of *Hengist* and *Horsus*, gave the Occasion of the second, and indeed the most absolute Dissolution of the State. For *Vortigern*, to establish the Kingdom in his own Line, and (as he thought to strengthen himself with these Strangers, took to Wife † *Renix*, the Daughter of *Hengist*, (his own Wife living :) And by his Dotage on her, being a beautiful Lady, who knew to take the Advantage of his Love, gave the *Saxons* those Preferments in the State, as the *Britons*, neglected by him, soon became a Prey unto them: This Alliance, and the Fertility of the Land, letting in so many of this populous, and warlike Nation, that e're Men scarce perceived their Danger, they were undone: And notwithstanding the Combination of the *British* Nobility, with the deposing of *Vortigern*, and electing King his Son *Vortimer*, a valiant Prince, who gave them many stout Battles; yet could they not prevail against the *Saxons* thus established, but were forced to quit their Country, and betake themselves to remote Mountains, and Deserts, leaving all to the Invaders; who after many Fortunes, dividing the Land into seven Kingdoms, extinguished both the Religion, Language, and even the Name thereof. And in this Heptarchy it continued, till *Egbert*, King of the West-Saxons, *An.* 828, being three hun-

* *Cornwall. Bede* I. 14.† *Rowena.*

dred fifty Years after their Entrance, subduing the other Kings, obtained the whole Dominion to himself; and to raze out the Memory of a Division, caused by an Edict the whole Kingdom to be called *England*, of the *Angles*, a People that possess the middle Part of this Island.

§ 6. But neither he, nor his Successors, quietly enjoyed it: For the *Danes*, having been first called in to aid the King of *Northumberland* against the other Kings, sorely infested the Land; and combining themselves with the *Welsh* and *Scots*, prevailed so much, that from the Reign of King *Britrick*, Anno 387, they continued to afflict the same the Space of two hundred fifty five Years; and in the End by the negligent and ill Government of King *Ethelred*, whose Luxury and Oppression had made way for Division, they got the absolute Dominion of the Kingdom, and held it twenty six Years by three of their Kings successively; *Canutus* governed it twenty Years, and left it to *Harold*, who reigned two Years; *Canutus* the second succeeded his Brother *Harold*, and at a Banquet at *Lambeth*, either by Surfeit or Poison died in the second Year of his Reign: When straight the People of the Land, by a sudden and general Massacre, redeemed themselves from that odious Yoke of a foreign Subjection: Which was held to be the third Dissolution of this State. But I cannot see, how it should be so accounted, seeing that this *Canutus*, never altered the Government, but embraced the same Religion, maintained the Laws he found, and added many Constitutions for the Good of the Kingdom. And to get into the People's Affections, he married *Emma*, sometimes Wife to King *Ethelred*, and Daughter to *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*; to whom, for his better Strength, he had likewise given his Sister to Wife: And then the short Time of the Government in the Succession of his two Sons, seems not to have bred any great Alteration in the State of the Kingdom;

dom, but only in the Change of the Person of the Prince, and the Preferment of his Nation before ours ; which, by Reason of the long foregoing Wars, were made incompatible of each other.

§ 7. But yet this gave the Cause to that great, and last Mutation of State, effected by the *Norman*. For King *Eihelred*, to make his Party good against the Invasion of the *Danes*, combined himself with *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, married his Sister *Emma*, and by her had Issue *Edward*, after King of *England*, entitled *the Confessor* ; who with his Brother were there brought up out of the Dangers of the Wars, and by the Assistance of the Duke reconveyed over, after the Death of the last *Canutus*, and here invested in the Kingdom. For which Offices of Kindness divers Preferments were in Way of Gratification, bestowed on the *Normans* ; as the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, and other especial Places and Dignities ecclesiastical, in a Manner throughout the whole Land ; which prepared an easier Passage for the Invasion following ; when the Death of this good King *Edward*, without Issue to inherit, left the Succession doubtful, or else by the Iniquity of Times made it seem so. For *Edgar* surnamed *Atbeling*, Son of *Edward* the Son of King *Edmond Ironside*, had his Claim neglected ; either in Respect of his Youth, which yet was no Bar to his Right ; or for Want of Means, and Power to oppose against the Ambition of others ; who having swayed the Fortune of the Time, under an easy-natured Prince, had Opportunity enough to work for themselves ; although the Worthiness of his Grandfather, shewed in the Defence of his Country, might seem to deserve to have his Issue remembered in their Right.

§ 8. But the Earl *Godwin*, what in Respect that King *Edward* had matched with his Daughter, and what with his own Greatness and Popularity, having long managed the State of the Kingdom, made the Ascent easy for *Harold* his Son to get up to the Crown ;
and

and by crossing the right Line of Succession, called up Destruction and Misery, both upon his own Race, and the whole Kingdom; for though *Harold* had a Shew of Title, as being the Son of * *Thira*, Sister to *Canutus* King of *England*; yet seeing all the Land had received an Oath upon the Massacre and Expulsion of the *Danes*, never to have any King of that Nation to reign over them, it might seem no lawful Claim. But yet the Favour of the People, which both his Person and Valour had gotten, with the Necessity of the Time that required a Man of Spirit and Courage, to undertake the Burden of War, and the Trouble which the World (they saw) was like to grow into, cast it upon him, with Hope to keep out the Misery of a foreign Subjection, and the Insolency of Strangers.

§ 8. But the whole Course of Things being overcast, and set for Storms, and Alteration, could not by any Providence of Men be prevented. Though this new King (who is said to have crowned himself) used all the Means that a wise and valiant Prince could do, both for the well ordering of the State, and all Provisions for Defence; yet the disjointed Affections of Men, tending to their private Ends, and working several Ways to get up to their Hopes, either left the Ship of the State, which contained them all, to the Mercy of the Waves, and every Man cast to save himself, where the greatest Likelihood of Mastery appeared; or else distracted with the Terror of the approaching Mischief, failed in their Spirits and Courage to withstand it; for the Diligence of Men becomes often dashed with their Fear in public Tumults, and with the very Cogitation of the Evil to come.

§ 9. And the first Man which began to afflict his new Government, was his own younger Brother, *Iest*; † who for a former conceived Hatred, was ea-

* *Githa*, Sister to *Swain*. Dan.

† *Tomslain* D.

sily set on by the Duke of *Normandy*, and *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, (whose Daughter he had married) to assail the Isle of *Wight*, and to prepare the Way for the great After-work intended. And having done much Mischief on the Coast of *Kent*, *Harold* with a strong Navy forced him to draw towards the North Parts; where seeking to land, he was repulsed by the Earls *Morcar* and *Edwin*, and forced to look Aid of the *Scots*, and after of the King of *Norway*, whom he induced to invade this Kingdom with great Store of Men and Shipping. These landing at *Tinmouth*, and discomfiting their first Encounterers, marched into the Heart of *England* without Resistance. But being come near to *Stamford*, King *Harold* with a mighty Army met them; and after a long Fight, with the Loss of much Blood, and his best Men, he finished that Action with the Death of *Tosty*, and the King of *Norway*.

§ 10. But from hence was he called with his wearied and broken Forces to a more fatal Business in the South. For now *William* Duke of *Normandy*, pretending a Right to the Crown of *England*, both by the Testament of the late King *Edward*, and also by Parentage; upon the Advantage of the Time, and the Disfurnishments of those Parts, landed at *Hastings*; near to which Place was fought that bloody Battle, wherein *Harold* valiantly fighting amidst his Enemies, ended his Life and Reign, which was scarce of one Year; and the *English*, with the Loss of twenty thousand Men, and the Flower of the Kingdom, became the miserable Prey of the *Normans*.

§ 11. But how so great a State as this, could be with one Blow subdued by so small a Province in such Sort, as it could never after come to make any general Head against the Conqueror, may seem strange, and considerable: But the Circumstances, with the Disposition of that Time, as may be collected from the Writers, that lived near it, may somewhat, though
not

not altogether, satisfy us in that Point. For they say, the People of the Kingdom were (by their being secure from their foreign Enemies the *Danes*, and their long Peace, which had held in a Manner from the Death of *Edmond Ironside*, the Space of fifty Years,) grown neglective of Arms, and generally debauched with Luxury and Idleness; the Clergy licentious, and only *Literaturâ tumultuariâ contenti, Scholæ, non vitæ discebant*, saith *Malmesbury*; the Nobility given to Gluttony, Venery, and Oppression; the common Sort to Drunkenness and all Disorder. And they say, that in the last Action of *Harold* at *Stamford*, the bravest Men perished: And himself growing insolent after the Victory, retaining the Spoils without Distribution to the Soldiers, made them discontent and unruly; or peradventure being not inured to be commanded by martial Discipline, they were of themselves unmanagable; and that coming to the Battle of *Hastings* with many mercenary Men, and a discontented Army, there was not that Valour and Resolution shewed, as was meet in so important an Occasion. Besides, the *Normans* had a peculiar Militia, or Fight with Bows and Arrows, wherein they were excellently practised; and the *English*, unacquainted with that Weapon, were altogether unprovided for that Defence. And thus they excuse the Shame of our Nation.





T H E
R E I G N
O F
WILLIAM the Ist.

I.

§ 12. BY these Advantages *William*, the base Son of *Robert* Duke of *Nor-mandy*, having gotten the Victory in the Battle near *Hastings*, marched without any Opposition towards *London*: Where the Earls *Edwin*, and *Morcar* Brothers of eminent Dignity and Respect in the Kingdom, laboured with all their Power in soliciting the People for the Conservation of the State; and to have established *Edgar Etheling*, next of the royal Issue in the Sovereignty; whereunto the rest of the Nobility had likewise consented, had they not seen the Bishops averse, or wavering. And all Men generally, transported with Fear, or corrupted with new Hopes, running from themselves, and their endanger'd Country, and striving who should be first
to

to entertain the present Fortune, sought to preoccu-
pate each other. For straight upon his Approach to
London the Gates was set all open; the Archbishop of
Canterbury Stigand, with other Bishops, the Nobility,
Magistrates and People, all render'd themselves and
their Obedience unto him; and he, returning plausi-
ble Promises of his future Government, was within
a short Time after crowned at *Westminster* by *Aldred*
Archbishop of *York*; for that *Stigand* was not held
canonically invested in that See, and yet was thought
to have been a principal Adherent to this Enter-
prize.

§ 13. Here (according to the accustomed Form)
in his Coronation, the Bishops and Barons of the
Realm took their Oath to be his true and loyal Sub-
jects; and he reciprocally being required thereunto by
the Archbishop of *York*, made his personal Oath before
the Altar of Saint *Peter*, to defend the holy Church of
God, and the Rectors of the same; to govern the
universal People subject unto him justly; with Care
to establish equal Laws for the Preservation of Justice,
and upright Judgment to be used amongst them: and
taking Hostages for his more Security, and Order for
the Defence and Government of his Kingdom;

§ 14. At the Opening of the Spring then next
following, he returns into *Normandy*; so to settle his
Affairs there, as they might not distract him from
his Business in *England*, which required his whole
Powers. And to leave all sure behind him, he
committed the Rule of the Kingdom in his Absence
to *Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, his Half-Brother by the
Mother's-side, and to his Cousin *Fitz-Osborn*, whom
he had made Earl of *Hereford*: Taking with him the
chiefest Men, Natives, of the State, who were likeliest
to be Heads to a Revolt; as the Archbishop *Stigand*,
lately discontented, *Edgar Atheling*, a Titular, *Edwin*
and *Morcar*, with many other Bishops and Noblemen.
In his Absence, which was all that whole Summer,
nothing

nothing was here attempted against him, but only that *Edric*, surnamed the *Forrester*, in the County of *Hereford*, called in the Kings of the *Welsh* to his Aid, and foraged only the remote Borders of that Country. The rest of the Kingdom stood quiet, expecting what would become of that new World; wherein, as yet they found no great Alterations, their Laws and Liberties remaining still the same, they did, and might hope by this Accession of a new Province, the State of *England* would be enlarged in Dominion abroad, and not impaired in Profit at home; by Reason the Nation was but small, and being a plentiful, and not over-peopled Country, they were not likely to impester them.

§ 15. The King now grown to this Power, soon settled his Estate in *Normandy*, which in his Youth he had always found turbulent within, and overhardly neighboured abroad, and secured him of that side of the World; wherein he was much advantaged by the Time. For *Philip* the first, then King of *France*, was a Child; who otherwise would never have suffered the *Normans*, being so stubborn, and little affectionate to that Crown, to have grown to such Greatness; and besides, was under the Curature of *Baudouin* Earl of *Flanders*, (his Uncle by the Mother,) whose Daughter King *William* of *England* had to Wife; which Alliance indeed gave him the greatest Means to his Conquest. Besides, he had made the Pope most sure unto him; by promising if he subdued this Kingdom, to hold it of the Church; for which *Alexander* upon his Enterprize sent him a Banner, and a Hair of Saint *Peter*. He held strict Amity also with the Princes of *France*, that bordered upon him, and might interrupt his Affairs; as with the Earls of *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Main*, *Ponthieu*, *Bologne*, and others; to every one of whom he had promised Lands in *England*, upon their Aids lent him. And to keep fair with the State of *France*
in

in general, he ingaged himself to their King to hold this Kingdom from him, and to do him Homage for the same; by which Means he so strongly underfet himself, as made his Fortune such as it was.

§ 16. And now having disposed his Affairs in *Normandy*, he returns towards Winter into *England*; where he was to satisfy three Sorts of Men. First, the especial Adventurers in the Action; Secondly, those of his own People, whose Merits or Nearness deserved Recompence; whereof the Number being so great, many must have their Expectations fed, though not satisfied. Thirdly, the People of this Kingdom, by whom he must now subsist. For being not able with his own Nation so to people the same, as to defend it, if he should proceed to a general Extirpation of the natural Inhabitants, he was likewise to give them Satisfaction: Wherein he had more to do than in his Battle at *Hastings*; seeing all Remunerations, with Discharge of Monies, must be raised out of the Stock of the Kingdom, (which could not be pleasing to the State in general.) And all Preferments and Dignities conferred on his, must be either by Vacancies, or displacing others; which needs must breed very feeling Grievances in particular. And yet we find no great Men thrust out of their Rooms, but such as put themselves out, by their revolting after his Establishment in the Crown.

§ 17. In the second Year of his Reign no Exaction was made to raise Treasure for these Satisfaction: So that it seems he contented himself, and his, for the Time, only with what he found here ready; and with filling up their Places, who were slain in these two last Battles, or fled, (as many were) out of the Kingdom with the Sons of *Harold*. But the *English* Nobility, incompatible of these new Concurrents, found notwithstanding a Disproportion of Grace, and a darkening of their Dignities by the Interposition of so many,
as

as must needs lessen their Light: And doubting daily to be more impaired in Honour and Estate, all the chieft of them conspired, and fled; some into *Scotland*, some into *Denmark*, to try, if by Aid from abroad they might recover themselves, and their Greatness again at home.

§ 18. Amongst these the chieft was *Edgar Atheling*, (entitled *England's Darling*, which shewed the People's Zeal to his Blood;) and with him (besides his Mother *Agatha*, and his two Sisters, *Christine*, and *Margaret*,) fled the Earls *Edwin* and *Morcar*, *Mareleswin*, *Hereward*, *Gospatric*, and *Siward*, and shortly after *Stigand*, and *Aldred*, the two Archbishops, with many other Noblemen, and divers of the Clergy. Those that fled into *Scotland*, were all hospitably received of King *Malcolm*; whom it concerned to look to his own, his Neighbour's House being thus on Fire; and to succour a Party against so dangerous an Incomer: Which made him not only to entertain them, but to enter League with them for the publick Safety. And to combine himself the more firmly, he married *Margaret*, the Sister of *Edgar*, by whom the Blood of our antient *Saxon* Kings was conjoined with the *Norman* in *Henry* the Second, and so became *English* again.

§ 19. These Noblemen, with the Aid of the *Scots* and *Danes*, in the third Year of this King's Reign raised great Commotions in the North beyond *Humber*, and wrought very valiantly themselves to recover their lost Country. But now it being too late, and the Occasion not taken, before the settling of the Government, whilst it was new, and brandling, they prevailed nothing, but gave Advantage to the Conqueror to make himself more than he was; for all Conspiracies of Subjects, that succeed not, advance the Sovereignty: And nothing gave Root to the *Normans* planting here more, than the petty Revolts
wade

made by scattered Troops in several Parts, begun without Order, and weakly seconded without Resolution; whereas nothing could be done for the general Recovery, but by the general Rising of the People, which seldom we see to happen. And for this the new King had taken good Order: First by disarming them, then by forbidding them Assemblies, and all secret Intercourse, upon heavy Penalties: that every Man at the closing of the Day, by the Warning of a Bell, should cover his Fire, and go to Bed; by making them to be bound Pledges one for another, to answer for their Obedience and Loyalty; by building divers Fortresses in several Parts of the Kingdom, to awe the Country, and to hold them in; with many such like Provisions.

§ 20. So that these Lords, though they did, as they might, hold him doing in the North, and imbroil themselves in an unsuccessful Business, yet he having all the South settled under his Power, with well practised and prepared Forces, could not but needs tire and consume them in the End; and in the mean Time invest the *Normans* in their Rooms and Possessions, forfeited by this Attempt: As the Earldom, and all the Lands, which *Edwin* held in *Yorkshire*, were given to *Alanus* Earl of *Brittain*, his Nephew; the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* conferred on *Lanfranc*, an *Italian*; that of *York* on *Thomas*, his Chaplain, a *Norman*; and all the rest both of the Clergy, and others, which fled, and were out, had likewise their Places supplied by *Normans*.

§ 21. And now the King having appeased the Commotion in the West, where the Sons of *Harold* had landed with Forces out of *Ireland* and *Wales*, and also repress'd the Rebellion of *Oxford*, he takes his Journey in Person Northward, with all Expedition; lest the Enemy there should grow too great in Heart and Opinion, by the Defeat of his Lieutenant with
seven

The REIGN of

seven hundred *Normans* at *Durham*, and the great Slaughter of his People made at *York*. Where at his first coming, he so wrought, as he corrupted the Generals of the *Danes* with Money, and sent them well contented away ; and then set upon the Army of the Earls, weakened both in Strength and Hope, by this Departure of their Confederates, and put them to Flight : Which done, he utterly wasted, and laid desolate all that goodly Country between *York* and *Durham*, the Space of sixty Miles, that it might be no more a Succour to the Revolter. And the like Course he used on all the Coasts, where any certain Landings were known, thereby to prevent Invasions ; and so returned to *London* : Where he seized into his Hands all the Plate, Jewels and Treasure within all the Monasteries of *England* ; pretending that the Rebels, and their Assistants, had conveyed their Riches into these religious Houses, as into Places privileged, and free from Seizure, to defraud him of it.

§ 22. Most of the Lords, after this great Defeat in the North, came in upon publick Faith given them, and were conducted to *Barkamstead* by the Abbot *Frederick*. Where some write, that the King again took a personal Oath before the Archbishop *Lanfranc*, and the Lords, to observe the antient Laws of the Realm, established by his Noble Predecessors, the Kings of *England* ; and especially those of Saint *Edward* : And all the Lords, upon their Oath and Submission, were then reconciled unto him ; and thereupon held themselves quiet for a Time. But whether it were, that they found not their Entertainment such, as they expected ; or that they had received Intelligence of new Hopes from abroad ; or that *Edgar*, who was still in *Scotland*, had solicited them upon Promise of fresh Succours to aid him ; or howsoever it was ; many of them again conspired, contrary to their Oaths,

Oaths, and went out. The Earl *Edwin*, making towards *Scotland*, was murdered by his own People by the way. The Earls *Morcar* and *Hereward*, betook them to the Isle of *Ely*; meaning to make good that Place for that Winter; whither also came the Earl *Siward*, and the Bishop of *Durham* out of *Scotland*. But the King, who was no Time-giver to growing Dangers, beset all the Isle with flat Boats on the East, and made a Bridge of a Mile long on the West, and safely brought in his People upon the Enemy; who seeing themselves surprized, yielded them all to the King's Mercy, except *Hereward*, (a Man of great Valour and Courage) who with his Soldiers made a Retreat through the Fens, and escaped into *Scotland*. The rest were sent to divers Prisons, where they died, or remained during the King's Life.

§ 23. We find, that those Lords, who remained loyal upon their last Submission, were all employed, and well graced by the King: As *Edric* the *Forrester*, that was the first Revolter in his Reign, was held in especial Favour, and Trust near about him; *Gospatric* was made Earl of *Northumberland*, and sent against *Malcolm*, who in this Time takes Advantage to subdue the Countries of *Tisdal*, *Cleveland*, and *Cumberland*. *Waltheof*, the Son of the Earl *Siward*, he so highly esteemed, as he married him to his Niece *Judith*; though he were a principal Actor in this last Commotion, and in the Defence of the City of *York* against him, and is said, to have stricken off the Heads of divers *Normans* one by one, as they entered upon a Breach, to the great Admiration of all Men: By which Valour of his, he ransomed the Offence he had made, and grew to that great Grace with the King; who therein shewed a noble and magnanimous Nature, to honour Virtue even in his Enemies.

§ 24. And now there rested nothing, for the general Quieting of the Kingdom, but only the Suppression of *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, the greatest Kindles-fire of all these Conspiracies in the North Parts, and the only Refuge for all that were discontented and mutinous in this State. Against him the King led such mighty Forces, both by Sea, and Land, as *Malcolm* rather than to adventure Battle, was content to make his Peace; and not only to give up Hostages for securing the same, but also to do him Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*. And so all his Home-wars were ended *Regni Anno* 6. Saving only in *Anno* 15; he levied a puissant Army, and subdued *Wales*; which Business held him not long. For the rest of his Government here, he had no more to do here with the Sword, though he had it always abroad during his whole Reign.

§ 25. Now for the Doubt he might have of the great Men of the Kingdom, who by Power or Love were aptest to disturb his Government, it was in this sort taken away. First by the Submission of *Edgar Atheling*, who *Anno* 7, was restored into Grace, and had a fair Maintenance, which held him ever after quiet: Then by those whom the Prisons kept from attempting any more: And lastly, by the revealing of a new Conspiracy, contrived at a Marriage, between *Ralph de Waber* † Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and his new Kinswoman, the Sister of *Roger*, the young Earl of *Hereford*: At which Solemnization in their Banquetting and Jollity, the two Earls *Normans*, with *Waltheof*, and divers *English*, plotted to call in the *Danes* again, and to make away the King: Upon which Discovery, they were all apprehended (except the Earl of *Norfolk*, who fled the Land;) and died some in Prison, and some on the Scaffold.

* *Roger Fitz Osborn, the Son of William, Cousin and especial Councillor to the King.*

§ 26. The *Danes* being on the Coasts with two hundred Sail, hearing how their Confederates had sped, and the great Preparations the King had made, after some Spoils taken on the Coast of *England* and *Flanders*, returned home, and never after infested this Kingdom. Though in *Anno* 20 of this King, there was a great Rumour of their fresh Preparations for a new Invasion; which made him entertain a great Number of *Frenchmen*, besides *Normans*, which he brought into *England* about Harvest, and held the most part of them all the Winter, to the great Charge of the Kingdom. But it came to nothing; for the Wind held so long against the *Danish* Navy, consisting of about one thousand Sail, as it overthrew their intended Action, and freed both the King and his Successors from future Fears that Way for ever after.

§ 27. The foreign Wars he had, were all about his Dominions in *France*, and raised by his own Son *Robert*, whom he had left his Lieutenant Governor of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and the County of *Maine*. Where, by his Father's Absence, tasting the Glory of Command, he grew to assume into his own Power the Sovereign Rule of the Province; caused the Barons there to do him Homage, as Duke, not as Lieutenant; and put himself wholly under the Protection of the King of *France*; who was not a little pleased, to apprehend so good an Occasion, to foster a Division in the House of so great and near a Neighbour; who was now grown fearful, and dangerous, to all the Princes about him; and therefore spared for no Cost to set forward this Work. The King, understanding the Fire thus kindled in his own House, whilst he laboured to quench that himself had made in others, hastes with his Forces into *Normandy*, to have surprized his Son; who, advertised of his coming, furnished with two thousand Men at Arms, by the King of *France*, put himself in Ambush, where his Father should pass,

and fet upon him so fiercely, as he defeated most of his People, and in the Press happened to encounter with himself; whom he unhorsed, and wounded in the Arms with his Lance. But perceiving by his Voice it was his Father, he hastened to lift him up again to his Horse, craving most humble Pardon for his Offence, which the King, seeing in what Case he was, easily granted and received him into Grace, with whom, and with his Son *William*, (who was likewise hurt in the Skirmish) he retired to *Roan*, and after being there cured of his Hurt, returned again into *England*.

§ 28. Where he was no sooner arrived, but he heard, that his Son was again revolted, treated the *Normans* ill, and renounced his Father's Sovereignty over that Province; which caused his little Stay in *England* for that Time, but only to prepare for his Return into *Normandy*. Whither passing, he was by Tempest driven on the Coast of *Spain*; and there is said to have fought in Battle against the *Saracins*. Afterwards arriving at *Bordeaux*, his Son *Robert* came, and submitted himself the second Time; whom now he took with him into *England*, to frame him to a better Obedience, by employing him here for a Season; and then sent him back again, with his youngest Son *Harry*, (whom he more trusted) into *Normandy*; where he held himself quiet a while, and gave his Father some small Breathing-Time to dispose of the Affairs of this Kingdom.

§ 29. But it was not long, e're new Occasions of greater Troubles grew up: which took by this Means. The two Princes, *Robert* and *Henry*, went to visit and salute the King of *France* at *Conflans*; where being feasted certain Days, upon an After-dinner, *Henry* wone so much at Chefs of *Louis* the King's eldest Son, that he grew so far into Choler, as he called him the Son of a Bastard, and threw the Chefs in his Face. *Henry* takes up the Chefs-board, and struck *Louis* with that Force, as he drew Blood, and had

had killed him, had it not been for his Brother *Robert*, who came in in the mean Time, and interposed himself; whereupon they suddenly took Horse, and with much ado saved themselves at *Pontoise* from the King's People, that pursued them.

§ 30. This Quarrel arising upon the intermeeting of these Princes, (which is a thing, that seldom breeds good Blood amongst them) rekindled a Heat of more Rancor in the Fathers, and set a mighty Fire between the two Kingdoms; which made the first War the *English* and *French* had together, whereupon followed many others. For presently the King of *France* complots again with *Robert*, enters into *Normandy*, and takes the City of *Vernon*. The King of *England* invades *France*, subdues the Country on *Xaintoign*, and *Poitou*, and returns to *Roan*; where the third time his Son *Robert* is reconciled unto him; which much disappointeth, and vexeth the King of *France*. Who hereupon summons the King of *England*, to come and do him Homage for the Kingdom of *England*: Which he refused to do; saying, that he held it of none, but of God, and his Sword: But yet offering to do him Homage, for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, it it would not satisfy the King of *France*; who was willing to make any Occasion the Motive to set upon him: And again he invaded his Territories; but with more Loss than Profit. In the End they conclude a little unperfect Peace together; which held no longer, than King *William* had recovered a Sickness, whereinto, by reason of his Years, Travel, and Fatness, he was lately fallen. At which Time the King of *France*, (then young and lusty) jesting at his great Belly, whereof he said he lay in at *Roan*, so irritated him, as being recovered, he gathered all his Forces, entered into *France*, in the chiefest Time of their Fruits, and came even before *Paris*, spoiling, and burning all in his Way: Where with Heat and Toil, he fell into a Relapse, returned to *Roan*, and there made an

End of his Wars, and Life, after he had held this Kingdom * twenty Years and ten Months.

§ 31. Now concerning his Government in Peace, and the Course he held in establishing the Kingdom thus gotten; first he examines the *English* Laws, which were then composed of *Merchenlage*, *Danelage*, and *Westfaxlage*: Whereof some he abrogated, and some allowed, adding other of *Normandy*; especially such as made for the Preservation of the Peace, which most imported him to look unto: And these Laws thus reformed he caused to be all translated, and written into the *Norman* Tongue; hereby to draw the People of the Kingdom to learn that Language for their own Need, that the two Nations might the better grow together and become one; seeing a difference of Speech would continue a Difference of Affections. Wherein he attained not his Desire; nor ever was it in the Power of any Conqueror so to do, without the universal Extirpation of the Land-bred People: Who being so far in Number (as they were) above the Invaders, both carry the main of the Language, and also in few Years, make them to become theirs, that subdued them. But yet upon these Laws thus established by so prudent a Prince, this free, and fierce Nation, was so well held in Peace and Obedience, as his Successors, with some Abatement of Rigour, and Prerogative, have ever since continued a most glorious Sovereignty over the same.

§ 32. And for that he would be well, and certainly supplied with Treasure, which his great Wars and Entertainments required, he took a most provident Course for reforming the *Fisque* or *Exchequer*, and the ordering and raising of his Revenues; endeavouring to make, and know the utmost of his Estate. And therefore he employed a most discreet Choice of Men to survey the whole Kingdom, and to take the Par-

* *Anno* 20.

Particulars of his own, and every Man's Ability, the Quantity, and Nature of Lands, and Possessions, with the Descriptions, Bounds, and Divisions of Shires and Hundreds within the same. And this was drawn into one Book, and brought into his *Ærarium*, the Exchequer, (so called of the Table, whereat the Officers sat; before termed the *Talee*) and the same entitled *Doomesday-Book*. *Liber Judiciarius*, (saith *Gervasius*) the Judgment Book, that was to decide all Doubts concerning these Particulars.

§ 33. All the Forests and Chases throughout the Kingdom, he took into his proper Possession, and exempted them from being under any other Law than his own Pleasure, to serve as *Penetralia Regnum*, the withdrawing Chambers of Kings, to recreate them after their serious Labours in the State; where none might presume to have to do, and where all Punishments and Pardons of Delinquents were to be disposed by himself absolutely, and the former Customs abrogated. And to make his Command the more, he increased the Number of them in all Parts of the Land; and on the South-Coast dispeopled the Country for above thirty Miles Space; making of old inhabited Possessions a new Forest; inflicting great Punishments for hunting his Deer, whereby he much advanced his Revenue: which was the greatest Act of Concussion and Tyranny he committed in his Government. And the same Course held almost every King near the Conquest. For *Henry* the first proceeded with such Violence, as to make a Law, that if any Man killed the King's Deer in his own Woods, he should forfeit his Woods to the King. But King *Stephen*, having need of the Peoples Favour, repealed that Law. And in the End this Grievance, amongst others, after much Bloodshed in the Kingdom, was allayed by the Charter of Forests, granted by *Henry III.* For other Possessions he permitted those, which held them before his Coming, to continue them quietly

in the same Manner, and took none, but from such, as after his Possession of the Crown, rebelled against him, or were slain in the Wars.

§ 34. He imposed no new Taxations on the State, and used those he found very moderately: As *Danegelt* being a Tax raised by the former Kings, of two Shillings upon every Hide-Land, to maintain the Wars against the *Danes*, he would not have it made an annual Payment, but only taken upon urgent Occasion: * And it was seldom gathered in his Time, or his Successors. *Scutagium*, or *Escuage*, which was also then an Imposition of Money upon every Knight's Fee (afterwards only employed for the Service in *Scotland*) was never levied, but in like Occasions, for Stipends and Donatives to Soldiers.

§ 35. Only one Exaction he was forced to raise, to cure a Mischief, which arose by his Means. In the beginning of this Reign, the Rancor of the *English* towards the New-come *Normans* was such, as finding them single in Woods, and remote Places, they secretly murdered them; and the Deed-doers, for any the severest Courses taken, could never be discovered. Whereupon it was ordained, that the Hundred wherein a *Norman* was found slain, and the Murderer not taken, should be condemned to pay the King some thirty-six Pounds, and some twenty eight Pounds, according to the Quantity of the Hundred. And this was done to the End, the Punishment being generally inflicted, it might particularly deter them, and hasten the Discovery of the Malefactor, by whom so many must otherwise be interested. This Mulct, and the seizing into his Hands the Church Treasure before noted, (though both were done by the especial commanding Warrant of Necessity) were much taken to Heart in the Kingdom, both by the Clergy and common People.

* *Gervasius.*

§ 36. And yet otherwise was he to both very gracious and beneficial. For upon Petition made unto him, he relieved the Oppression of such as were Tenants at will of their Lords, which were a very great Number, and began after this Manner. All those, who were discovered to have had a Hand in any Rebellion, and were pardoned, only to enjoy the Benefit of Life, having all their Livelihood taken from them, became Vassals unto those Lords, to whom the Possessions were given of all such Lands, as were forfeited by Attainders. And if by their diligent Service they could attain any Portion of Ground, they held it, but only so long as it pleased their Lords, without having any Estate for themselves or their Children; and were oftentimes miserably cast out upon the sudden, contrary to Promise, upon any small Displeasure. Whereupon it was ordained, that whatsoever they had obtained of their Lords by any obsequious Service, or agreed for upon any lawful Pact, they should hold by an inviolable Law during their own Lives.

§ 37. And for the Clergy, other than in this one Act, he maintained all their Immunities and Privileges, and they grew very much under him. But this (it seems) was the Cause, that made them so much disfigure his Worthiness, and leave his Memory in so black Colours to Posterity, as they did, in delineating his Tyranny, Rigor and Oppression; when the Nature and necessary Disposition of his Affairs do much excuse him therein, and shew that he was a Prince of a most active Virtue, whose Abilities of Nature were equal to his Undertakings of Fortune, as preordained for so great a Work. And though he might have some Advantage of the Time, wherein we often see Men prevail more by the Imbecilities of others, than their own Worth: Yet let those Times be well examined, his Strength and Eminency (if we

take his just Measure) were of an exceeding Proportion. Neither wanted he those Encounters and Concurrences of sufficient able Princes, his Neighbours, to put him to the Trial thereof; having on one side the *French* to grapple withal, on the other the *Dane*, far mightier in People and Shipping than himself, strongly sided in the Kingdom, as greedy to recover their former Footing here as ever, and as well or better prepared.

§ 38. But this Name of Conquest (which ever imports Violence and Misery) is of so harsh a Sound, and so odious in Nature, as a People subdued seldom gives the Conqueror his due, tho' never so worthy: And especially to a Stranger, whom only time must naturalize, and let in by Degrees into their Liking and good Opinion: Wherein also this King was greatly advantaged by reason of his twenty Years Government, which had much impaired the Memory of former Customs in the younger Sort, and well inured the elder to the present Usances and Form of State: Whereby the Rule was made more easy to his Sons, who tho' they were far inferior to him in Worth, were a little better beloved than he; and the rather for that they were content somewhat to unwrest the Sovereignty from the Height whereunto he had strained it; which brought the State to a better Proportion of Harmony.

§ 39. Of those, who were the especial Men of Employment in his Reign, Time has shut us out from the Knowledge of many; it being in the Fortune of Kings, to have the Names and Memory of their Counsellors (like Rivers in the Ocean) buried in their Glory. Yet these we find principally mentioned in Stories. First, *William Fitz-Osborne* Earl of *Hereford*, the especial Mover and Counsellor of this Voyage of *England*, reported also to have furnished forty Ships at his own Charge for the Enterprize.

Odo

Odo Bishop of *Bayeux*, and Earl of *Kent*, sometimes his Viceroy in *England*; and seems also to have managed the Finances; but of such excessive Avarice, that he gathered so much Treasure, as he went about to buy the Papacy; and attempting to go to *Rome* about the same, the King staid him at Home in a fair Prison; and excused the Matter (upon Exclamation made) in this Sort, that he only imprisoned the Earl of *Kent*, not the Bishop of *Bayeux*. Beside he had *Lanfranc*, a Man of universal Learning, and an excellent Lawyer, born in *Lombardy*, who peradventure might introduce something of the Constitutions of that Province, to the making up our Laws, which in many Things seem to participate with theirs. And no doubt he had many others else: For being of a strong Constitution of Judgment, he could not but be strongly furnished in that kind; seeing ever weak Princes, have weak Sides; and our most renowned Kings have been best underfet with Counsel, and happily served with the ablest Officers.

§ 40. He had a fair issue by *Maud* his Wife; four Sons, and five Daughters, To *Robert* his eldest Son he left the Dutchy of *Normandy*; to *William* the Kingdom of *England*; and to *Henry* his Treasure, with an annual Pension of eight hundred Pounds to be paid him by his two Brothers. *Richard*, that was his second Son died in his Youth, of a Surfeit taken by hunting in the New Forest, and began the fatal Misfortune, that followed, of that Place, by the Death of King *William* the Second, there slain with an Arrow; and of *Richard* the Son of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, that broke his Neck. His eldest Daughter *Cicilia* became a Nun. *Constance* married to the Earl of *Brittain*; *Adela* to *Stephen*, Earl of *Blois*, who likewise became a Nun in her Age: Such was their great Devotion, and so much were these solitary Retirements affected in those Times, by the greatest Ladies.

Another

Another was affianced to *Alfonfus* King of *Galicia*; who with the other Sister promised to *Harold*, died before Marriage.

§ 41. As to what he was in the Circle of himself, in his own Continent, we find him of an even or middle Stature, comely Personage, of good Presence, riding, sitting, or standing, till his Corpulency gathering upon him in his latter Age, made him somewhat unwieldy; of so strong a Constitution, that he was never sickly, till a few Months before his Death; his Strength such, as few Men could draw his Bow; and being about fifty one of his Age, when he subdued this Kingdom, it seems by his continual Actions, he felt not the Weight of Years upon him, till his last Year.

§ 42. His Mind was no less excellently composed, and we see it the fairest drawn in his Actions; wherein his Mercy and Clemency (the brightest Stars in the Sphere of Majesty) appeared (next to his great Devotion) above all his other Virtues, by the often pardoning and receiving into Grace those, who had forfeited their Loyalty, and most dangerously rebelled against him: Seeming to hold Submission satisfactory for the greatest Offence; and that he sought to extinguish Men's Enterprizes, but not themselves. For we find but one great Nobleman executed in all his Reign; and that was the Earl *Waltheof*, who had twice falsified his Faith before: And those, whom he had held Prisoners in *Normandy*, as the Earls *Morcar*, and *Siward*, with *Wolfnothus*, the Brother of *Harold*, and divers others, upon compassion of their Endurance, he released a little before his Death.

§ 43. Besides he was as far from Suspicion as from Cowardice; and of that Confidence (an especial Note of his Magnanimity) as he gave *Edgar*, his Competitor in the Crown, the Liberty of his Court; and
upon

upon his Suit, sent him well furnished to the holy War; where he so nobly behaved himself, as he attained to great Estimation with the Emperors of *Greece*, and *Almain*: Which might have been held dangerous in Respect of his Alliances that Way, being Grand-Child to *Henry* the third Emperor. But these may be as well Virtues of the Time, as of Men; and so the Age must have Part of this Commendation.





Sir *WALTER RALEIGH's*

SEAT OF

GOVERNMENT.

That the Seat of Government is upheld by the two great Pillars thereof, viz. Civil Justice, and martial Policy, which are framed out of Husbandry, Merchandize, and Gentry of this Kingdom.



THEY say, that the goodliest Cedars which grow on the high Mountains of *Libanus*, thrust their Roots between the Clifts of hard Rocks, the better to bear themselves against the strong Storms that blow there. As Nature hath instructed those Kings of Trees, so hath Reason taught the Kings of Men, to root themselves in the hardy Hearts of their faithful

ful Subjects. And as those Kings of Trees have large Tops, so have the Kings of Men large Crowns; whereof as the first would soon be broken from their Bodies, were they not underborn by many Branches; so would the other easily totter, were they not fastened on their Heads with the strong Chains of civil Justice and martial Discipline.

1. For the Administration of the first, even God himself hath given Direction, *Judges and Officers shalt thou make which shall judge the People with righteous Judgments.*

2. The second is grounded on the first Laws of the World and Nature, that Force is to be repelled by Force. Yea *Moses* in the 20th of *Exodus*, and elsewhere, hath delivered us many Laws and Policies of War. But as we have heard of Neglect and Abuse in both, so have we heard of the Decline and Ruin of many Kingdoms and States long before our Days: For that Policy hath never yet prevailed (though it hath served for a short Season) where the Counterfeit hath been sold for the Natural, and the outward Shew and Formality for the Substance. Of the Emperor *Charles* the fourth the Writers of that Age witness, that he used but the Name of Justice and good Order, being more learned in the Law than in doing right, and that he had by far more Knowledge than Conscience. Certainly the unjust Magistrate that fancieth to himself a solid and untransparable Body of Gold, every ordinary Wit can vitrify, and make transparent Pieces, and discern their Corruptions; howsoever, because not daring, they cover their Knowledge: but in the mean while it is also true, that constrained Diffimulation, either in the proud Heart, or in the oppressed, either in publick Estates, or in private Persons, where the fear of God is not prevalent, doth in all the Leisure of her lurking, but sharpen her Teeth, the voluntary being no less base, than the forced malicious. Thus it fared between the Barons of *England*

land and their Kings, between the Lords of *Switzerland* and their People, between the *Sicilians* and the *French*, between the *Dolphin* and *John* of *Burgoign*, between *Charles* the Ninth and the *French* Protestants, and between *Henry* the third, his Successor, and the Lords of *Guise*. Hereof in place of more particulars, the whole World may serve for Examples.

It is a difficult piece of Geography to delineate and lay out the Bounds of Authority; but it is easy enough to conceive the best use of it, and by which it hath maintained itself in lasting Happiness; it hath ever acquired more honour by persuading, than by beating; for as the Bonds of Reason and Love are immortal, so do all other Chains or Cords both rust and rot noble Parts of their own royal and politick Bodies.

But we will forbear for a while to stretch this first String of civil Justice; for in respect of the first Sort of Men, *viz.* of those that live by their own Labour, they have never been displeased where they have been suffered to enjoy the Fruit of their own Travels; *Meum & Tuum*, Mine and Thine, is all wherein they seek their Certainty and Protection. True it is, that they are the Fruit-trees of the Land, which God in *Deuteronomy* commanded to be spared; they gather honey, and hardly enjoy the wax, and break the Ground with great Labour, giving the best of their Grain to the Easeful and Idle.

For the second Sort, which are the Merchants, as those first feed the Kingdom, so do the seerich it; yea, their Trades, especially those which are forcible, are not the least Part of our martial Policy, as is hereafter proved; and to do them right, they have in all Ages and Times assisted the Kings of this Land, not only with great Sums of Money, but with great Fleets of Ships, in all their Enterprises beyond the Seas. The second have seldom or never offended their Princes; to enjoy their Trades at Home upon tolerable Conditions,

ditions, have ever contented them for the Injuries received from other Nations ; give them but the Commission of Reprisal, they will either right themselves, or sit down with their own Loss without Complaint.

3. The third Sort , which are the Gentry of *England*, these being neither seated in the lowest Grounds, and thereby subject to the biting of every Beast, nor in the highest Mountains, and thereby in Danger to be torn with Tempests, but the Valleys between both, have their Parts in the inferior Justice: and spread over all, are the Garisons of good Order throughout the Realm.





Sir *WALTER RALEIGH*'s

OBSERVATIONS

*Concerning the Causes of the Magnificency and
Opulency of Cities.*



THAT the only Way to civilize and reform the savage and barbarous Lives and corrupt Manners of such People, is,

1. To be dealt withal by gentle and loving Conversation among them; to attain to the Knowledge of their Language, and of the Multitude of their special Discommodities and Inconveniencies in their manner of living.

2. The next is to get an admired Reputation amongst them, upon a solid and true Foundation of Piety, Justice, and Wisdom, conjoyned with Fortitude and Power.

3. The third is, discreetly to possess them with a Knowledge of the Condition of their own Estate. Thus *Orpheus* and *Amphion* were said to draw after them the Beasts of the Field, &c.

And this must be first wrought by a visible Representation of the Certainty, Truth, and Sincerity of these, together with the Felicity of a reformed estate.

All which is but to give Foundation, Bottom, and firm Footing unto Action, and to prepare them to receive wholesome and good Advice, for the future Profit and Felicity of themselves and their Posterity.

For the more commodious effecting of this Reformation in a rude and barbarous People, they are to be persuaded to withdraw and unite themselves into several Colonies; that by it an interchangeable Communication and Commerce of all Things may more commodiously be had, and that they may so live together in Civility, for the better Succour and Welfare of one another: And thereby they may more easily be instructed in the Christian Faith, and governed under the Magistrates and Ministers of the King, or other superior Power, under whom this Reformation is sought. Which Course the Stoick tells, that *Theseus* took, after he had taken upon him the Government of the *Athenians*, whereby he united all the People into one City, that before lived dispersedly in many Villages. The like is put in Practice at this Day by the *Portugals* and *Jesuits*, that they may with less Difficulty and Hindrance reform the rough Behaviour, and savage Life of the People of *Brazile*, who dwell scattered and dispersed in Caves and Cottages made of Boughs and Leaves of the Palm-trees.

Alexander the Great built more than seventy Cities: *Seleucus* built three Cities, called *Apamea*, to the Honour of his Wife; and five, called *Laodicea*, in Memory of his Mother; and five, called *Seleucia*, to the Honour of himself.

*Safety for Defence of the People and their Goods, in
and near the Town.*

IN the Situation of Cities there is to be required a Place of Safety, by some natural Strength, Commodiousness for Navigation, and Conduct for the attaining of plenty of all good Things, for the Sustenance and Comfort of Man's Life, and to draw Trade and Intercourse of other Nations ; as, if the same be situate in such Sort, as many People have need to repair thither for some natural Commodity or other of the Country, which by Traffick and Transportation of Commodities, whereof they have more plenty than will supply their own Necessity, or for receiving of things whereof they have scarcity. And much better will it be, if the Place afford some notable Commodity of itself, from whence other Nations may more readily, and at better rate attain the same : likewise, and withal, be so fertil, pleasant and healthful of itself, that it may afford plenty of good Things, for the Delight and Comfort of the Inhabitants.

In former Times great Nations, Kings and Potentates have endured sharp Conflicts, and held it high Policy by all Means to increase their Cities with Multitudes of Inhabitants. And to this End the *Romans* ever furnished themselves with Strength and Power, to make their Neighbour People, of Necessity, willing to draw themselves to *Rome* to dwell, and overthrow their Towns and Villages of mean Strength down to the Ground.

So did they for this Cause utterly destroy many Cities, bringing always the vanquished Captives to *Rome*, for the Augmentation of that City.

Romulus, after a mighty Fight with the *Sabines*, condescended to Peace, upon Condition that *Tatius* their

their King should come with all their People to dwell at *Rome*: *Tatius* did accept, and made choice of the Capitol, and the Mount *Quirinalis* for his Seat and Palace.

The same Course held *Tamerlane* the Great, whereby he enlarged the great *Samarcanda*, still bringing unto it, the richest and wealthiest Citizens he had subdued.

And the *Ottomans*, to make the City *Constantinople* rich and great, brought to it many thousand Families, especially Artificers, out of the subdued Cities, as *Mahomet* the Great from *Trebizond*, *Selim* the First from *Cairo*, and *Solyman* from *Tauris*.

Authority and Necessity, without the Consideration of the Conveniencies and Commodiousness of Situation above-mentioned, are of small Moment in the Foundation of a City; thereby only it would be unlikely either to grow or continue in Magnificency or Opulency; for if Profit, Height, and Delight go not Companions therewith, no Authority or Necessity can retain much People or Wealth.

But if the Place whereupon a City is to be founded, be commodious for the aforesaid Conveniencies, which help greatly for the Felicity of this Life, then, no doubt, the same is likely to draw much abundance of People and Riches unto the same, whereby it may, by the Help of Arts and Industry, in Time become magnificent and glorious.

Unto the good Estate, Greatness, and Glory of a City, those things hereafter mentioned do greatly avail, and are of much Importance, *viz.*

Religion, which is of such Force and Might, to amplify Cities and Dominions, and of such attractive Virtue to replenish the same with People and Wealth, and to hold them in due Obedience, as none can be more; for without Adoration of some Deity, no Commonwealth can subsist.

Witness

Witness *Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople*, and all other Cities that have been famous for the Profession of Religion, or divine Worship. And no marvel, for there is not any thing in this World of more Efficacy and Force to allure and draw to it the Hearts of Men, than God which is the *summum bonum*. He is carefully desired, and continually sought for of all Creatures; for all regard him as their last End and Refuge.

Light things apply themselves upwards, heavy things downwards; the Heavens to Revolution, the Herbs to Flowers, Trees to bear Fruit, Beasts to preserve their Kind, and Man in seeking his Tranquility and everlasting Glory. But forasmuch as God is of so high a Nature as the Sense and Understanding of Man cannot conceive it, every Man directly turns himself to that Place where he leaves some Print of his Power, or declares some Sign of his Assistance; and to such Persons to whom he seemeth more especially to have revealed himself.

Academies, and Schools of Learning with convenient Immunities and Privileges for Scholars, and Means for Recreation and Delight, are of great Importance to enlarge and enrich a City: forasmuch as Men long for Honour and Profit, and of Arts and liberal Sciences, some bring certain Wealth to Men, and some Promotions and Preferments to honourable Functions; for by this Means not only young Men, and those that are desirous of Learning and Virtue in the same Common-wealth, will be retained in their own Country; but also Strangers will be drawn home to them. And the more will this be available if Occasion be given to Scholars and Students, to rise to Degrees of Honour and Preferment by their learned Exercises, and that by the Policy of the same City, good Wits be accounted of, and rewarded well: that the same Academies and Schools be stored with plenty of

Doctors and learned Men of great Fame and Reputation.

Courts of Justice, with due Execution of the same in a City, do much enable and enlarge and enrich it; for it fasteneth a great liking in a City to virtuous Men, and such as be wealthy, that therein they may be free and in Safety from the Violence of the Oppressions of covetous and wicked Men: and there will be rather Resort thither to inhabit, or traffick there, as Occasions may minister unto them. And many others that have Cause of Suit will repair thither, where they may be sure to find Judgment and Justice duly executed, whereby the City must needs be enlarged and enriched: for our Lives, and all that ever we have are in the Hands of Justice, so that if Justice be not administred amongst Men, in vain is there any Society and Commerce, nor any other Thing can be profitable or safe; so much is Love and Charity failed, and Iniquity encreased upon the Face of the Earth.

The Excellency and Multitude likewise of Artificers exercising their manual Arts and Trades, do marvelously encrease and enrich a State, whereof some are necessary, some commodious for a civil Life, other some are of Pomp and Ornament, and other some of Delicacy and Curiosity, whereof doth follow Concourse of People that labour and work, and current Money which doth enrich and supply Materials for Labourers, and Workmen, buying and selling, transportation from Place to Place, which doth employ and increase the artificiois and cunning Parts of the Wit of Man; and this Art and Exquifiteness of Workmanship and Skill is so powerful herein, that it far excels the simple Commodities and Materials that Nature produceth, and is alone sufficient of itself to make a City or State both magnificent and glorious: And the daily Experience we have in these our Days, and in former Times, doth manifestly

manifestly approve the same, and make evident without all Contradiction.

Some natural Benefits that a City also may have for the Excellency of Art, or Workmanship of some special Commodities above any other Place, either through the Quality of the Water, or other Matter whatsoever, or some hidden Mystery of the Inhabitants in working thereof, may be a great Help for the Enlargement and Enriching of a City.

The Command of a Country that affordeth some proper Commodity, is of itself sufficient mightily to bring a City to great Wealth, and to advance it to great Power, and draweth thereby Dependency and Concourse, much advantageous also, as well for the publick Weal as the private Person.

A City also may be Lord of much Merchandize and Traffick, by Means of the commodious Situation to many Nations, to whom it serveth and hath Relation, as Warehouses, Roomth and Store-houses, by Reason whereof, the Nations adjoyning do use to resort thereunto to make their Provisions of such Things. And this consisteth in the Largeness of the Ports, the Fitness of the Gulphs and Creeks of the Seas, in the navigable Rivers and Channels, and the plain and safe Ways that lead to the City, or that come, or turn by or near it.

Privilege and Freedom from Customs and Exactions, doth greatly encrease the Trade, and draw Inhabitants to a City, whereby the same may become both rich and powerful; whereof the Marts and Fairs and Markets bear good Witness, which are frequented with great Concourse of People, Tradesmen, and Merchants, for no other Respect, but that they are there free and frank from Customs and Exactions. And the Cities in *Flanders* are lively Testimonies hereof, where the Customs are very small.

By Reason whereof all such as have erected new Cities in times past, to draw Concourse of People unto it, have granted large Immunities and Privileges, at the least to the first Inhabitants thereof.

The like have they done that have restored Cities emptied with Plague, consumed with Wars, or afflicted with Famine, or some other Scourge of God. In respect whereof, Freedom of Cities hath been often granted to such as would, with their Families, inhabit there, or would bring Corn and other Necessaries for Provision of Victual.

The *Romans*, to increase their Cities, made the Towns that well deserved of them (which they after called *Municipia*) to be Partakers of their Franchises and Privileges.

The first Means the *Romans* used to allure People to make their Habitations rather in *Rome* than elsewhere, was the opening the Sanctuary, and giving Liberty and Freedom to all that would come unto them. In Respect whereof there flocked thither, with their Goods, Numbers of People that were either racked with Exactions, thrust out of their Habitations, or unsafe, or unsure for their Lives in their own Countries for Religion Sake.

The very same Reason in a Manner hath encreased so much the City of *Geneva*: forasmuch as it hath offered Entertainment to all Comers out of *France* and *Italy*, that have either forsaken, or been exiled their Countries for Religion Sake.

Likewise, Triumphs, goodly Buildings, Battles on the Water, Sights of Sword-players, hunting of wild Beasts, publick Shows and Sights; Plays solemnized with great Pomp and Preparation, and many other such Things, draw the curious People to a City inspeakably, which leave behind them much Treasure, and for such Cause will rather settle themselves to inhabit

habit there, than in other Places. This was also the Device of *Rome* in her Infancy to enlarge herself.

The Causes that concern the Magnificency of a City.

TO confirm a City in her Greatness, Justice, Peace and Plenty are the undoubted Means: for Justice assureth every Man his own: Peace causeth all Arts and Negotiations whatsoever to flourish: and Plenty of Food and Victual, that sustaineth the Life of Man with Ease and much Contentment. To conclude, all those Things that cause the Greatness of a City, are also fit to conserve the same.





Sir *WALTER RALEIGH*'s

S C E P T I C K.

The SCEPTICK doth neither affirm, neither deny any Position; but doubteth of it, and opposeth his Reasons against that which is affirmed, or denied, to justify his not consenting.



THIS first Reason ariseth, from the Consideration of the great Difference amongst living Creatures, both in the Matter and Manner of their Generations, and the several Constitutions of their Bodies.

Some living Creatures are by Copulation and some without it : and that either by Fire, as Crickets in Furnaces ; or corrupt Water, as Gnats ; or Slime, as Frogs ; or Dirt, as Worms ; or Herbs, as Cankerworms ; some of Ashes, as Beetles ; some of Trees, as the Worm Pfenas bred in the wild Fig-tree ; some of living Creatures putrified, as Bees of Bulls, and Wasps of Horses. By Copulation many Creatures are brought forth alive, as Man ; some in the Egg, as Birds ; some in an unshapen Piece of Flesh, as Bears. These great Differences

rences cannot but cause a divers and contrary Temperament, and Quality in those Creatures; and consequently, a great Diversity in their Fancy and Conceit; so that tho' they apprehend one and the same Object, yet they must do it after a diverse Manner: for is it not absurd to affirm, that Creatures differ so much in Temperature, and yet agree in Conceit concerning one and the same Object?

But this will more plainly appear, if the Instruments of Sense in the Body be observed: for we shall find, that as these Instruments are affected and disposed, so doth the Imagination conceit that which by them is connexed unto it. That very Object which seemeth unto us white, unto them which have the Jaundice seemeth pale, and red unto those whose Eyes are Blood-shot. Forasmuch then as living Creatures have some white, some pale, some red Eyes, why should not one and the same Object seem to some white, to some red, to some pale? If a Man rub his Eye, the Figure of that which he beholdeth seemeth long or narrow; is it then not likely, that those Creatures which have a long and slanting Pupil of the Eye, as Goats, Foxes, Cats, &c. do convey the Fashion of that which they behold under another Form to the Imagination, than those that have round Pupils do?

Who knoweth not, that a Glass presenteth the outward Object smoother, or greater, according to the making of the Glass? If it be hollow, the Object seemeth smaller than it is; if the Glass be crooked, then the Object seemeth long and narrow. And Glasses there be, which present the Head of him that looketh in them, downwards, and the Heels upwards. Now then seeing the Eye, which is the Instrument of Sight, in some living Creatures is more outward, in some more hollow, in some plain, in some greater, in some less; it is very probable, that Fishes, Men, Lions and Dogs, whose Eyes so much differ, do not conceive
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the self-same Object after the same Manner, but diversly, according to the Diversity of the Eye, which offereth it unto the Fancy.

The same Reason holdeth in Touching; for seemeth it not absurd to think, that those Creatures which are covered with Shells, those which are covered with Scales, and which are covered with Hairs, and those which are smooth, should all be alike sensible in Touching; and every one of them convey the Image or Quality of the same Object which they touch, in the very same Degree of Heat or Cold, of Dryness or Moisture, Roughness or Smoothness, unto the Imagination?

So might it be shewed in Hearing: for how can we think that the Ear which hath a narrow Passage, and the Ear which hath an open and wide Passage, do receive the same Sound in the same Degree? or that the Ear whose Inside is full of Hair, doth hear in the same just Measure, that the Ear doth whose Inside is smooth? since Experience sheweth, that if we stop, or half stop our Ears, the Sound cometh not to us in the same Manner and Degree that it doth if our Ears be open.

The like may be thought of Smelling: for Man himself abounding with Flegm, is otherwise affected in Smelling, than he is, if the Parts about the Head be full of Blood; and many Things afford a delightful Smell to some living Creatures, which Smell to other living Creatures seemeth not to be so.

In the Taste the same Reason appeareth, for to a rough and dry Tongue, that very Thing seemeth bitter (as in an Ague) which to the moister Tongue seemeth not to be so. Divers Creatures then having Tongues drier, or moister, according to their several Temperatures, when they taste the same Thing, must needs conceit it to be according as the Instrument of their Taste is affected, either bitter, or sweet, &c. For even as the Hand in the striking of the Harp, tho' the Stroke be one, yet causeth a Sound sometimes high, sometimes

sometimes base, according to the Quality of the String that is stricken; even so one and the same outward Object is diversly judged of, and conceited, according to the severall and divers Qualities of the Instrument of Sense, which conveyeth it to the Imagination. Ointment is pleasing to Man; but Beetles and Bees cannot abide it. Oil to Man is profitable, but it killeth Bees and Wasps. Cicuta feedeth Quails, and Henbane Sows; but both of these hurt Man. If a Man eat Ants, he is sick; but the Bear being sick, recovereth by eating them.

If then one and the very same thing to the red Eye seem red, to another pale, and white to another: if one and the same thing, seem not hot or cold, dry or moist, in the same Degree, to the severall Creatures which touch it; if one and the self same Sound seem more shrill to that Creature which hath a narrow Ear, and more base to him that hath an open Ear: if the same thing, at the same Time, seem to afford a pleasant and displeasing Smell to divers and severall Creatures: if that seem bitter in Taste to one, which to another seemeth sweet; that to one hurtful, which to another seemeth healthful: I may report how these Things appear divers to severall Creatures, and seem to produce divers Effects.

But what they are in their own Nature, whether red or white, bitter or sweet, healthful or hurtful, I cannot tell. For why should I presume to prefer my Conceit and Imagination, in affirming that a Thing is thus or thus, in its own Nature, because it seemeth to me to be so, before the Conceit of other living Creatures, who may as well think it to be otherwise in its own Nature, because it appeareth otherwise to them than it doth to me?

They are living Creatures as well as I: why then should I condemn their Conceit and Fantasy, concerning any Thing more than they may mine? they may
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be in the Truth and I in Error, as well as I in Truth, and they err. If my Conceit must be believed before theirs, great Reason that it be proved to be truer than theirs. And this Proof must be either by Demonstration, or without it. Without it none will believe. Certainly, if by Demonstration, then this Demonstration must seem to be true, or not seem to be true. If it seem to be true, then will it be a Question, whether it be so indeed as it seemeth to be; and to alledge that for a certain Proof, which is uncertain and questionable, seemeth absurd.

If it be said, that the Imagination of Man judgeth truer of the outward Object, than the Imagination of other living Creatures doth, and therefore to be credited above others, (besides that which is already said) this is easily refuted by comparing of Man with other Creatures.

It is confessed the Dog excelleth Man in Smell, and in hearing: and whereas there is said to be a two-fold Discourse, one of the Mind, another of the Tongue, and that of the Mind is said to be exercised in chusing that which is convenient, and refusing that which is hurtful in Knowledge, Justice, and Thankfulness: this Creature chuseth his Food, refuseth the Whip, fawneth on his Master, defendeth his House, revengeth himself of those Strangers that hurt him. And *Homer* mentioneth *Argus* the Dog of *Ulysses*, who knew his Master, having been from Home so many Years, that at his Return all the People of his House had forgot him. This Creature, saith *Chrysippus*, is not void of Logick: for when in following any Beast he cometh to three several Ways, he smelleth to the one, and then to the second; and if he find that the Beast which he pursueth be not fled one of these two Ways, he presently without smelling any further to it, taketh the third Way: which, saith the same Philosopher, is as if he reasoned thus, the Beast must be gone either
this,

this, or this, or the other Way ; but neither this, nor this ; *Ergo*, the third : and so away he runneth.

If we consider his Skill in Physick, it is sufficient to help himself ; if he be wounded with a Dart, he useth the Help of his Teeth to take it out, of his Tongue to cleanse the Wound from Corruption : he seemeth to be well acquainted with the Precept of *Hippocrates*, who saith, ‘ That the Rest of the Foot is the Physick ‘ of the Foot ;’ and therefore if his Foot be hurt, he holdeth it up that it may rest : if he be sick, he giveth himself a Vomit by eating of Grass, and recovereth himself. The Dog then we see is plentifully furnished with inward Discourse.

Now outward Speech is not needful to make a Creature reasonable, else a dumb Man were an unreasonable Creature.

And do not Philosophers themselves reject this as an Enemy to Knowledge ? and therefore they are silent when they are instructed. And yet even as barbarous and strange People have speech, but we understand it not, neither do we perceive any great Difference in their Words ; but a Difference there seemeth to be, and they do express their Thoughts and Meanings one to another by those Words : even so those Creatures, which are commonly called unreasonable, do seem to parly one with another, and by their Speech do understand one the other. Do not Birds by one Kind of Speech call their young ones, and by another cause them to hide themselves ? do they not by their several Voices express their several Passions of Joy, of Grief, of Fear, in such Manner, that their Fellows understand them ? do they not by their Voice foreshew Things to come ? But we will return to that Creature we first did instance in. The Dog delivereth one Kind of Voice when he hunteth, another when he howleth, another when he is beaten, and

and another when he is angry. These Creatures then are not void of outward Speech.

If then these Creatures excel Man in Sense, and are equal to him in inward and outward Discourse, why should not their Conceits and Imaginations convey the outward Object in as true a Manner as ours? and if so, then seeing their Imaginations are divers, and they conceit it diversly according to their divers Temperaments, I may tell what the outward Object seemeth to me; but what it seemeth to other Creatures, or whether it be indeed that which it seemeth to me, or any other of them, I know not.

But be it granted, that the Judgment of Man in this Case, is to be preferred before the Judgment of Beasts; yet in Men there is great Difference, both in respect of the outward Shape, and also of the Temperature of their Bodies: for the Body of the *Scythian* differeth in Shape from the Body of the *Indian*: the Reason of it ariseth (say the Dogmatists) from a Predominancy of Humours in the one more than in the other; and as several Humours are predominant, so are the Phantasies and Conceits severally framed and affected. So that our Countrymen delight in one Thing, the *Indian* not in that, but in another, which we regard not. This would not be if their Conceits and ours were both alike; for then we should like that which they do, and they would dislike that which we would dislike. It is evident also, that Men differ very much in the Temperature of their Bodies, else why should some more easily digest Beef than Shell-fish? and others be mad for the Time, if they drink Wine? There was an old Woman about *Arbeus*, which drank three Drams of *Cicuta* (every Dram weighing sixty Barley-corns, and eight Drams to an Ounce) without Hurt. *Iyfis*, without Hurt, took four Drams of Poppy; and *Demothon*, which was Gentleman-Sewer to *Alexander*, was very cold when he stood in the Sun, or in a hot Bath,

but very hot when he stood in the Shade. *Athenagoras* felt no Pain if a Scorpion stung him. And the *Psilli* (a People in *Lybia*, whose Bodies are Venom to Serpents) if they be stung by Serpents, or Asps, receive no Hurt at all.

The *Æthiopians*, which inhabit the River *Hydaspsis*, do eat Serpents and Scorpions without Danger. *Lothericus*, a Surgeon, at the Smell of a Sturgeon, would be for the Time mad. *Andron* of *Argos* was so little thirsty, that without Want of Drink, he travelled through the hot and dry Country of *Lybia*. *Tiberius Caesar* would see very well in the Dark. *Aristotle* mentioneth of *Thratius*, who said, that the Image of a Man went always before him.

If then it be so, that there be such Differences in Men, this must be by reason of the divers Temperatures they have, and divers Dispositions of their Conceit and Imagination; for if one hate, and another love the very same Thing, it must be that their Fancies differ, else all would love it, or all would hate it. These Men then, may tell how these Things seem to them good, or bad; but what they are in their own Nature they cannot tell.

If we will hearken to Men's Opinions, concerning one and the same Matter, thinking thereby to come to the Knowledge of it, we shall find this to be impossible; for either we must believe what all Men say of it, or what some Men only say of it. To believe what all Men say of one and the same Thing is not possible; for then we shall believe Contrarieties; for some Men say, that that very Thing is pleasant, which others say is displeasing. If it be said we must believe only some Men, then let it be shewed who those Men are; for the *Platonists* will believe *Plato*, but the *Epicures* *Epicurus*, the *Pythagoreans* *Pythagoras*, and other Philosophers the Masters of their own Sects: So that it is doubtful, to which of all these we shall give credit.

dit. If it be said we must credit the greatest Number; this seemeth childish; for there may be amongst other Nations a greater Number which deny that very Point, which the greatest Number with us do affirm; so that hereof nothing can certainly be affirmed.

This Argument seemeth to be further confirmed, if the Differences of the Senses of Hearing, Seeing, Smelling, Touching and Tasting be considered; for that the Senses differ it seemeth plain.

Painted Tables (in which the Art of Slanting is used) appear to the Eye, as if the Parts of them were some higher, and some lower than the other, but to the Touch they seem not so.

Honey seemeth to the Tongue sweet, but unpleasant to the Eye; so Ointment doth recreate the Smell, but it offendeth the Taste. Rain-water is profitable to the Eyes, but it hurteth the Lungs. We may tell then, how these Things seem to our several Senses, but what they are in their own Nature we cannot tell; for why should not a Man credit any one of his Senses as well as the other?

Every Object seemeth to be presented diversly unto the several Instruments of Sense. An Apple to the Touch seemeth smooth, sweet to the Smell, and to the Eye yellow; but whether the Apple have one of these Qualities only, or more than these Qualities, who can tell? The Organ hath many Pipes, all which are filled with the same Blast of Wind, varied according to the Capacity of the several Pipes which receive it; even so the Quality of the Apple may be but one, and this one Quality may be varied, and seem yellow to the Eye, to the Touch smooth, and sweet to the Smell, by reason of the divers Instruments of the Sense, which apprehend this one Quality diversly.

It may be also, that an Apple hath many Qualities besides; but we are not able to conceive them all; because we want fit Means and Instruments to apprehend

hend them. For suppose that some Man is born blind and deaf, and yet can touch, smell, and taste; this Man will not think that there is any Thing which may be seen or heard, because he wanteth the Senses of hearing and seeing; he will only think there are those Qualities in the Object, which by reason of his three Senses he conceiveth: even so the Apple may have many more Qualities; but we cannot come to know them, because we want fit Instruments for that Purpose.

If it be replied, that Nature hath ordained as many Instruments of Sense, as there are sensible Objects; I demand, what Nature? for there is a confused Controversy about the very Essence of Nature. Some affirming it to be one Thing, others another, few agreeing: so that what the Quality of an Apple is, or whether it hath one Quality or many, I know not.

Let a Man also consider how many Things that are separated, and by themselves, appear to differ from that which they seem to be, when they are in a Mass or Lump; the Scrapings of the Goat's Horn seems white, but in the Horn they seem black. The Stone *Tænarus*, being polished, seemeth white, but unpolished and rough, it seemeth yellow. Sands being separated, appear rough to the Touch, but in a great Heap, soft. I may then report, how these Things appear, but whether they are so indeed, I know not.





Sir *WALTER RALEIGH*'s
 INSTRUCTIONS to his SON,
 And to POSTERITY.

C H A P. I.

Virtuous Persons to be made choice of for Friends.



HERE is nothing more becoming any wise Man, than to make choice of Friends; for by them thou shalt be judg'd what thou art. Let them therefore be wise and virtuous, and none of those that follow thee for Gain; but make Election rather of thy Betters than thy Inferiors, shunning always such as are poor and needy; for if thou givest twenty Gifts, and refuse to do the like but once, all that thou hast done will be lost, and such

Men will become thy mortal Enemies. Take also special Care, that thou never trust any Friend or Servant, with any Matter that may endanger thine Estate; for so shalt thou make thy self a Bond-slave to him that thou trustest, and leave thy self always to his Mercy. And be sure of this, thou shalt never find a Friend in thy young Years, whose Conditions and Qualities will please thee after thou comest to more Discretion and Judgment; and then all thou givest is lost, and all wherein thou shalt trust such a one, will be discovered. Such therefore as are thy Inferiors, will follow thee but to eat thee out, and when thou leavest to feed them, they will hate thee; and such kind of Men, if thou preserve thy Estate, will always be had: and if thy Friends be of better Quality than thy self, thou mayst be sure of two things; the first, that they will be more careful to keep thy Counsel, because they have more to lose than thou hast; the second, they will esteem thee for thyself, and not for that which thou dost possess; but if thou be subject to any great Vanity or Ill, (from which I hope God will bless thee) then therein trust no Man; for every Man's Folly ought to be his greatest Secret. And although I persuade thee to associate thy self with thy Betters, or at least with thy Peers, yet remember always that thou venture not thy Estate with any of those great ones, that shall attempt unlawful Things, for such Men labour for themselves, and not for thee; thou shalt be sure to part with them in the Danger, but not in the Honour; and to venture a sure Estate in present, in Hope of a better in future, is meer Madness: and great Men forget such as have done them Service, when they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for saying thou hast been a Means of their Advancement, than acknowledge it.

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I could give thee a thousand Examples, and I my self know it, and have tasted it in all the Course of my Life; when thou shalt read and observe the Stories of all Nations, thou shalt find innumerable Examples of the like: Let thy Love therefore be to the best, so long as they do well; but take heed that thou love God, thy Country, thy Prince, and thine own Estate, before all others; for the Fancies of Men change, and he that loves To-day, hateth To-morrow; but let Reason be thy School-mistress, which shall ever guide thee aright.

C H A P. II.

Great Care to be had in the chusing of a Wife.

THE next and greatest Care ought to be in the Choice of a Wife, and the only Danger therein, is Beauty, by which all Men in all Ages, wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to use Reasons or Arguments, to dissuade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none that ever resisted that Witchery; yet I cannot omit to warn thee, as of other Things, which may be thy Ruin and Destruction. For the present Time, it is true, that every Man prefers his Fantasie in that Appetite, before all other wordly Desires, leaving the Care of Honour, Credit, and Safety in respect thereof: But remember, that though these Affections do not last, yet the Bond of Marriage dureth to the End of thy Life; and therefore better to be born withal in a Mistress, than in a Wife, for when thy Humour shall change, thou art yet free to chuse again, (if thou give thy self that vain Liberty.) Remember, secondly, that if thou marry for Beauty, thou bindest thy self all thy Life for that, which per-
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chance

chance will never last nor please thee one Year ; and when thou hast it, it will be to thee of no Price at all, for the Desire dieth when it is attained, and the Affection perisheth, when it is satisfied. Remember, when thou wert a sucking Child, that then thou didst love thy Nurse, and that thou wert fond of her ; after a while thou didst love thy Dry-nurse, and didst forget the other ; after that thou didst also despise her ; so will it be with thee in thy liking in elder Years ; and therefore, though thou canst not forbear to love, yet forbear to link, and after a while thou shalt find an Alteration in thy self, and see another far more pleasing than the first, second, or third Love ; yet I wish thee above all the rest, have a care thou dost not marry an uncomely Woman for any Respect ; for Comeliness in Children is Riches, if nothing else be left them. And if thou have care for thy Races of Horses, and other Beasts, value the Shape and Comeliness of thy Children, before Alliances or Riches : Have care therefore of both together ; for if thou have a fair Wife, and a poor one, if thine own Estate be not great, assure thy self that Love abideth not with Want ; for she is thy Companion of Plenty and Honour : for I never yet knew a poor Woman exceeding fair, that was not made dishonest by one or other in the End. This *Bathsheba* taught her Son *Solomon* ; *Favour is deceitful, and Beauty is Vanity* : she saith further, *That a wise Woman overseeth the Ways of her Household, and eateth not the Bread of Idleness.*

Have therefore ever more Care, that thou be beloved of thy Wife, rather than thy self besotted on her ; and thou shalt judge of her Love by these two Observations : First, if thou perceive she have a Care of thy Estate, and exercise her self therein ; the other, if she study to please thee and be sweet unto thee in Conversation, without thy Instruction, for Love needs no teaching, nor Precept. On the other Side, be not

lowr or stern to thy Wife ; for Cruelty engendreth no other Thing than Hatred : Let her have equal Part of thy Estate whilst thou livest, if thou find her sparing and honest, but what thou givest after thy Death, remember that thou givest it to a Stranger, and most Times to an Enemy ; for he that shall marry thy Wife, will despise thee, thy Memory, and thine, and shall possess the Quiet of thy Labours, the Fruit which thou hast planted, enjoy thy Love, and spend with Joy and Ease what thou hast spared and gotten with Care and Travel: Yet always remember, that thou leave not thy Wife to be a Shame unto thee after thou art dead, but that she may live according to thy Estate ; especially, if thou hast few Children, and them provided for. But howsoever it be, or whatsoever thou find, leave thy Wife no more than of Necessity thou must, but only during her Widowhood ; for if she love again ; let her not enjoy her second Love in the same Bed wherein she loved thee, nor fly to future Pleasures with those Feathers which Death hath pulled from thy Wings ; but leave thy Estate to thy House and Children, in which thou livest upon Earth whilst it lasteth. To conclude ; Wives were ordained to continue the Generation of Men, not to transfer them, and diminish them, either in Continuance or Ability ; and therefore thy House and Estate, which liveth in thy Son, and not in thy Wife, is to be preferred. Let thy Time of Marriage be in thy young and strong Years ; for believe it, ever the young Wife betrayeth the old Husband, and she that had thee not in thy Flower, will despise thee in thy Fall, and thou shalt be unto her but a Captivity and Sorrow. Thy best Time will be towards thirty, for as the younger Times are unfit, either to chuse, or to govern a Wife, and Family ; so if thou stay long, thou shalt hardly see the Education of thy Children, which being left to Strangers, are in Effect lost ; and better were it to be unborn, than ill-

ill-bred ; for thereby thy Posterity shall either perish, or remain a Shame to thy Name and Family. Furthermore, if it be late ere thou take a Wife, thou shalt spend thy Prime and Summer of thy Life with Harlots, destroy thy Health, impoverish thy Estate, and endanger thy Life ; and be sure of this, that how many Mistresses soever thou hast, so many Enemies thou shalt purchase to thy self ; for there never was any such Affection, which ended not in Hatred or Disdain : Remember the Saying of *Solomon*, *There is a Way which seemeth right to a Man, but the Issues thereof are the Wages of Death* ; for howsoever a lewd Woman please thee for a Time, thou wilt hate her in the End, and she will study to destroy thee. If thou canst not abstain from them in thy vain and unbridled Times ; yet remember that thou sowest on the Sands, and dost mingle thy vital Blood with Corruption, and purchasest Diseases, Repentance, and Hatred only. Bestow therefore thy Youth so, that thou mayst have Comfort to remember it, when it hath forsaken thee, and not sigh and grieve at the Account thereof : whilst thou art young thou wilt think it will never have an End ; but behold, the longest Day, hath his Evening, and that thou shalt enjoy it but once, that it never turns again : Use it therefore as the Spring-time, which soon departeth, and wherein thou oughtest to plant and sow all Provisions for a long and happy Life.

C H A P. III.

Wiseſt Men have been abuſed by Flatterers.

TAKE Care thou be not made a Fool by Flatterers, for even the wiſeſt Men are abuſed by theſe. Know therefore, that Flatterers are the worſt kind of Traitors ; for they will ſtrengthen thy Imperfections,

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encourage

encourage thee in all Evils, correct thee in nothing, but so shadow, and paint all thy Vices, and Follies, as thou shalt never, by their Will, discern Evil from Good, or Vice from Virtue. And because all Men are apt to flatter themselves, to entertain the Additions of other Men's Praises, is most perilous, Do not therefore praise thy self, except thou wilt be counted a vain-glorious Fool, neither take Delight in the Praises of other Men, except thou deserve it, and receive it from such as are worthy and honest, and will withal warn thee of thy Faults; for Flatterers have never any Virtue, they are ever base, creeping, cowardly Persons. A Flatterer is said to be a Beast that biteth smiling; it is said by *Isaiab* in this Manner: *My People, they that praise thee, seduce thee and disorder the Paths of thy Feet:* and *David* desired God to cut out the Tongue of as a Flatterer. But it is hard to know them from Friends, they are so obsequious, and full of Protestations; for a Wolf resembles a Dog, so doth a Flatterer a Friend. A Flatterer is compared to an Ape, who because she cannot defend the House like a Dog, labour as an Ox, or bear Burdens as a Horse, doth therefore yet play Tricks, and provoke Laughter: Thou mayst be sure that he that will in private tell thee thy Faults, is thy Friend, for he adventures thy Mislike, and doth hazard thy Hatred; for there are few Men that can endure it, every Man for the most Part delighting in Self-praise, which is one of the most universal Follies which bewitcheth Mankind.

C H A P. IV.

Private Quarrels to be avoided.

BE careful to avoid publick Disputations at Feasts, or at Tables among cholerick or quarrellsome Persons; and eschew evermore to be acquainted, or familiar with Ruffians; for thou shalt be in as much Danger in contending with a Brawler in a private Quarrel, as in a Battle, wherein thou maist get Honour to thy self, and Safety to thy Prince and Country; but if thou be once engaged, carry thyself bravely, that they may fear thee after. To shun therefore private Fight, be well advised in thy Words and Behaviour, for Honour and Shame is in the Talk, and the Tongue of a Man causeth him to fall.

Jest not openly at those that are simple, but remember how much thou art bound to God, who hath made thee wiser. Defame not any Woman publickly, though thou know her to be evil; for those that are faulty, cannot endure to be taxed, but will seek to be avenged of thee, and those that are not guilty, cannot endure unjust Reproach. And as there is nothing more shameful and dishonest, than to do Wrong, so Truth itself cutteth his Throat that carrieth her publickly in every Place. Remember the divine Saying, *He that keepeth his Mouth, keepeth his Life.* Do therefore right to all Men, where it may profit them, and thou shalt thereby get much Love, and forbear to speak evil Things of Men, though it be true (if thou be not constrained) and thereby thou shalt avoid Malice and Revenge.

Do not accuse any Man of any Crime, if it be not to save thy self, thy Prince, or Country; for there is nothing more dishonourable (next to Treason it self) than

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to be an Accuser. Notwithstanding I would not have thee for any Respect, lose thy Reputation, or endure public Disgrace ; for better it were not to live than to live a Coward, if the Offence proceed not from thy self ; if it do, it shall be better to compound it upon good Terms, than to hazard thy self ; for if thou overcome, thou art under the Cruelty of the Law, if thou art overcome, thou art dead or dishonoured. If thou therefore contend, or discourse in Argument ; let it be with wise and sober Men, of whom thou must learn by reasoning, and not with ignorant Persons ; for thou shalt thereby instruct those that will not thank thee, and utter, what they have learned from thee, for their own ; but if thou know more than other Men, utter it when it may do thee Honour, and not in Assemblies of ignorant and common Persons.

Speaking much also, is a Sign of Vanity ; for he that is lavish in Words, is a Niggard in Deeds ; and as *Solomon* saith, *The Mouth of a wise Man is in his Heart, the Heart of a Fool is in his Mouth, because what he knoweth or thinketh, he uttereth.* And by thy Words and Discourses, Men will judge thee. For as *Socrates* saith, *Such as thy Words are, such will thy Affections be esteemed ; and such will thy Deeds as thy Affections, and such thy Life as thy Deeds.* Therefore be advised what thou dost discourse of, and what thou maintainest ; whether touching Religion, State, or Vanity ; for if thou err in the first, thou shalt be accounted profane ; if in the second, dangerous ; if in the third, indiscreet and foolish : He that cannot refrain from much speaking, is like a City without Walls, and less Pains in the World a Man cannot take, than to hold his Tongue ; therefore if thou observe this Rule in all Assemblies, thou shalt seldom err : restrain thy Choler, hearken much, and speak little ; for the Tongue is the Instrument of the greatest Good, and greatest Evil that is done in the World.

According

According to *Solomon*, *Life and Death are in the Power of the Tongue* : and as *Euripides* truly affirmeth, *Every unbridled Tongue in the End shall find it self unfortunate* ; for in all that ever I observed in the Course of worldly Things, I ever found that Men's Fortunes are oftner made by their Tongues than by their Virtues, and more Men's Fortunes overthrown thereby also, than by their Vices. And to conclue, all Quarrels, Mischief, Hatred, and Destruction, arise from unadvised Speech, and in much Speech there are many Errors, out of which thy Enemies shall ever take the most dangerous Advantage. And as thou shalt be happy, if thou thy self observe these Things, so shall it be most profitable for thee to avoid their Companies that err in that Kind, and not to hearken to Talebearers, to inquisitive Persons, and such as busy themselves with other Men's Estates, that creep into Houses as Spies, to learn News which concerns them not ; for assure thy self such Persons are most base and unworthy, and I never knew any of them prosper, or respected amongst worthy or wise Men.

Take Heed also that thou be not found a Liar ; for a lying Spirit is hateful both to God and Man. A Liar is commonly a Coward ; for he dares not avow Truth. A Liar is trusted of no Man, he can have no Credit, neither in publick nor private ; and if there were no more Arguments than this, know that our Lord in *St. John* saith, *That it is a Vice proper to Satan*, Lying being opposite to the Nature of God, which consisteth in Truth ; and the Gain of Lying is nothing else, but not to be trusted of any, nor to be believed when we say the Truth. It is said in the *Proverbs*, *That God hateth false Lips ; and he that speaketh Lies shall perish*. Thus thou mayst see and find in all the Books of God, how odious and contrary to God a Liar is ; and for the World, believe it, that it never did any Man good (except in the Extremity of saving Life ;)

Life;) for a Liar is of a base, unworthy, and cowardly Spirit.

C H A P. V.

Three Rules to be observed for the Preservation of a Man's Estate.

AMongst all other Things of the World, take Care of thy Estate, which thou shalt ever preserve, if thou observe three Things; First, That thou know what thou hast, what every Thing is worth that thou hast, and to see that thou art not wasted by thy Servants and Officers. The second is, That thou never spend any Thing before thou have it; for borrowing is the Canker and Death of every Man's Estate. The third is, That thou suffer not thy self to be wounded for other Men's Faults, and scourged for other Men's Offences; which is, the Surety for another, for thereby Millions of Men have been beggared and destroyed, paying the Reckoning of other Men's Riot, and the Charge of other Men's Folly and Prodigality; if thou smart, smart for thine own Sins, and above all Things, be not made an Ass to carry the Burdens of other Men: If any Friend desire thee to be his Surety, give him a Part of what thou hast to spare; if he press thee farther, he is not thy Friend at all, for Friendship rather chuseth Harm to itself, than offereth it: If thou be bound for a Stranger, thou art a Fool; if for a Merchant, thou putteth thy Estate to learn to swim: If for a Churchman, he hath no Inheritance: If for a Lawyer, he will find an Evasion by a Syllable or Word, to abuse thee. If for a poor Man, thou must pay it thy self: If for a rich Man, it need not: Therefore from Surety-ship, as from a Man-slayer, or Enchanter, bless thy

thy self; for the best Profit and Return will be this; that if thou force him for whom thou art bound, to pay it himself, he will become thy Enemy; if thou use to pay it thy self, thou wilt be a Beggar; and believe thy Father in this, and print it in thy Thought, that what Virtue soever thou hast, be it never so manifold, if thou be poor withal, thou and thy Qualities shall be despised: Besides, Poverty is oft-times sent as a Curse of God, it is a Shame amongst Men, an Imprisonment of the Mind, a Vexation of every worthy Spirit; thou shalt neither help thy self nor others, thou shalt drown thee in all thy Virtues, having no Means to shew them, thou shalt be a Burthen, and an Eyesore to thy Friends, every Man will fear thy Company, thou shalt be driven basely to beg, and depend on others, to flatter unworthy Men, to make dishonest Shifts: And to conclude, Poverty provokes a Man to do infamous and detested Deeds: Let not Vanity therefore, or Persuasion, draw thee to that worst of worldly Miseries.

If thou be rich, it will give thee Pleasure in Health, Comfort in Sicknes, keep thy Mind and Body free, save thee from many Perils, relieve thee in thy elder Years, relieve the Poor, and thy honest Friends, and give Means to thy Posterity to live, and defend themselves, and thine own Fame. Where it is said in the *Proverbs*, *That he shall be sore vexed that is Surety for a Stranger, and he that hateth Suretyship, is sure*; It is further said, *The Poor is hated even of his own Neighbour, but the Rich have many Friends*. Lend not to him that is mightier than thyself, for if thou lendest him, count it but lost; be not Surety above thy Power, for if thou be Surety, think to pay it.

C H A P. VI.

What sort of Servants are fittest to be entertained.

LET thy Servants be such as thou may'st command, and entertain none about thee but Yeomen, to whom thou givest Wages; for those that will serve thee without thy Hire, will cost thee treble as much as they that know thy Fare: If thou trust any Servant with thy Purse, be sure thou take his Account e'er thou sleep; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then afterwards, for Tedioufness neglect it. I my self, have therefore lost more than I am worth. And whatsoever thy Servant gaineth thereby, he will never thank thee, but laugh thy Simplicity to Scorn; and besides, 'tis the Way to make thy Servants Thieves, which else would be honest.

C H A P. VII.

Brave Rags wear soonest out of Fashion.

EXceed not in the Humour of Rags and Bravery, for these will soon wear out of Fashion; but Money in thy Purse will ever be in Fashion; and no Man is esteemed for gay Garments, but by Fools and Women.

C H A P. VIII.

Riches not to be sought by evil Means.

ON the other side, take heed that thou seek not Riches basely, nor attain them by evil Means; destroy no Man for his Wealth, nor take any thing

from the Poor ; for the Cry and Complaint thereof will pierce the Heavens. And it is most detestable before God, and most dishonourable before worthy Men, to wrest any Thing from the needy and labouring Soul. God will never prosper thee in ought, if thou offend therein : But use thy poor Neighbours and Tenants well, pine not them and their Children to add Superfluity and needless Expences to thy self. He that hath Pity on another Man's Sorrow, shall be free from it himself ; and he that delighteth in, and scorneth the Misery of another, shall one Time or other fall into it himself. Remember this Precept, *He that hath Mercy on the Poor lendeth unto the Lord, and the Lord will recompense him what he hath given.* I do not understand those for poor, which are Vagabonds and Beggars, but those that labour to live, such as are old and cannot travel, such poor Widows and fatherless Children, as are ordered to be relieved, and the poor Tenants that travel to pay their Rents, and are driven to Poverty by Mischance, and not by Riot or careless Expences ; on such have thou Compassion, and God will bless thee for it. Make not the hungry Soul sorrowful, defer not thy Gift to the needy, for if he curse thee, in the Bitterness of his Soul, his Prayer shall be heard of him that made him.

C H A P. IX.

What Inconveniencies happen to such as delight in Wine.

TAKE especial Care that thou delight not in Wine, for there never was any Man that came to Honour or Preferment that loved it ; for it transformeth a Man into a Beast, decayeth Health, poisoneth the Breath, destroyeth natural Heat, brings a Man's Stomach

mach to an artificial Heat, deformeth the Face, roteth the Teeth, and to conclude, maketh a Man contemptible, soon old, and despised of all wise and worthy Men; hated in thy Servants, in thy self and Companions; for it is a bewitching and infectious Vice: And remember my Words, that it were better for a Man to be subject to any Vice than to it; for all other Vanities and Sins are recovered, but a Drunkard will never shake of the Delight of Beastliness; for the longer it possesseth a Man, the more he will delight in it; and the older he groweth, the more he shall be subject to it; for it dulleth the Spirits, and destroyeth the Body, as Ivy doth the old Tree; or as the Worm that ingendreth in the Kernel of the Nut.

Take heed therefore that such a cureless Canker pass not thy Youth, nor such a beastly Infection thy old Age; for then shall all thy Life be but as the Life of a Beast, and after thy Death, thou shalt only leave a shameful Infamy to thy Posterity, who shall study to forget that such a one was their Father. *Anacharsis* saith, *The first Draught serveth for Health, the second for Pleasure, the third for Shame, the fourth for Madness*; but in Youth there is not so much as one Draught permitted; for it putteth Fire to Fire; and wasteth the natural Heat and Seed of Generation. And therefore except thou desire to hasten thine End, take this for a general Rule, that thou never add any artificial Heat to thy Body, by Wine or Spice, until thou find that Time hath decayed thy natural Heat, and the sooner thou beginnest to help Nature, the sooner she will forsake thee, and trust altogether to Art: *Who have Misfortune, saith Solomon, who have Sorrow and Grief, who have Trouble without fighting, Stripes without Cause, and Faintness of Eyes? even they that sit at Wine, and strain themselves to empty Cups.* *Pliny* saith, *Wine maketh the Hand quivering, the Eyes watry, the*

Night unquiet, lewd Dreams, a stinking Breath in the Morning, and an utter Forgetfulness of all Things.

Whosoever loveth Wine, shall not be trusted of any Man, for he cannot keep a Secret. Wine maketh Man not only a Beast, but a Mad-man; and if thou love it, thy own Wife, thy Children and thy Friends will despise thee. In Drink, Men care not what they say, what Offence they give; they forget Comeliness, commit Disorders; and to conclude, offend all virtuous and honest Company, and God most of all, to whom we daily pray for Health, and a Life free from Pain: and yet by Drunkenness, and Gluttony, (which is the Drunkenness of Feeding) we draw on, saith *Hesiod*, a swift, hasty, untimely, cruel, and an infamous old Age. And *St. Augustine* describeth Drunkenness in this Manner: *Ebrietas est blandus Dæmon, dulce venenum, suave peccatum; quod, qui habet, seipsum non habet; quod qui facit, peccatum non facit, sed ipse est peccatum.*

Drunkenness is a flattering Devil, a sweet Poison, a pleasant Sin, which whosoever hath, hath not himself, which whosoever doth commit, doth not commit Sin, but he himself is wholly Sin.

Innocentius saith, *Quid turpius ebrioso, cui fætor in Ore, tremor in Corpore, qui promit Stulta, prodit occulta, cui Mens alienatur, facies transformatur? nullum secretum ubi regnat Ebrietas & quid non aliud designat malum? Fæcundi Calices quem non fecere disertum?*

What is filthier than a drunken Man, to whom there is Stink in the Mouth, trembling in the Body; which uttereth foolish things, and revealeth secret Things; whose Mind is alienate, and Face transformed? There is no Secresy where Drunkenness rules; nay, what other Mischief doth it not design? Whom have not plentiful Cups made eloquent and talking?

When *Diogenes* saw a House to be sold, whereof the Owner was given to Drink, I thought at the last, quoth *Diogenes*, he would spue out a whole House; *Sciebam, inquit, quod domum tandem evomeret.*

C H A P. X.

Let God be thy Protector, and Director in all thy Actions.

NOW for the World, I know it too well to persuade thee to dive into the Practices thereof; rather stand upon thine own Guard against all that tempt thee thereunto, or may practise upon thee in thy Conscience, thy Reputation, or thy Purse; resolve that no Man is wise or safe, but he that is honest.

Serve God, let him be the Author of all thy Actions, commend all thy Endeavours to him that must either wither or prosper them, please him with Prayer, lest if he frown he confound all thy Fortunes and Labours, like the Drops of Rain on the sandy Ground. Let my experienced Advice, and fatherly Instructions, sink deep into thy Heart. So God direct thee in all his Ways, and fill thy Heart with his Grace.





LETTERS.

To Prince Henry; touching the Model of a Ship.

Most excellent Prince,



F the Ship your Highness intends to build, be bigger than the *Victory*, than her Beams which are laid overthwart from Side to Side will not serve again, and many other of her Timbers and other Stuff, will not serve, whereas if she be a size less, the Timber of the old Ship will serve well to the building of a new.

If she be bigger she will be of less Use, go very deep to Water, and of mighty Charge, our Channels decaying every Year, less nimble, less managable, and seldom to be used. *Grande Navio grande fatica*, saith the *Spaniard*.

A Ship of six hundred Tuns will carry as good Ordnance as a Ship of twelve hundred Tuns, and where the greater hath double her Ordnance, the less will turn her Broadside twice before the great Ship can wind once, and so no Advantage in that Overplus

of Guns. The lesser will go over clear, where the greater shall stick and perish; the lesser will come and go, leave or take, and is yare, whereas the greater is slow, unmanniable, and ever full of Encumber.

In a well conditioned Ship, these Things are chiefly required.

1. That she be strong built.
2. Swift in Sail.
3. Stout-sided.
4. That her Ports be so laid as that she may carry out her Guns all Weathers.
5. That she hull and try well.
6. That she stay well, when boarding, or turning on a Wind is required.

To make her strong, consisteth in the Care and Truth of the Workman; to make her swift is to give her a large Run or Way forward, and so afterward, done by Art and just Proportion, and that in laying out her Bows before, and Quarters behind, the Shipwright be sure that she neither sink nor hang into the Water, but lie clear and above it, wherein Shipwrights do often fail, and then is the Speed in Sailing utterly spoiled.

That she be stout sided, the same is provided by a long bearing Floar, and by sharring off from above Water to the lower Edge of the Ports, which done, then will she carry out her Ordnance all Weathers.

To make her to hull and to try well, which is called a good Sea Ship, there are two Things principally to be regarded, the one that she have a good Draught of Water, the other that she be not overcharged: And this is seldom done in the King's Ships, and therefore we are forced to lie, or try in them with our main Course and Mizzen, which with a deep Keel and standing Streak she would perform.

The extreme length of a Ship makes her unapt to stay, especially if she be floaty, and want Sharpness
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of Way forward. And it is most true, that such over long Ships, are fitter for the narrow Seas in Summer, than for the Ocean, or long Voyages: And therefore an hundred Foot by the Keel, and thirty five Foot broad, is a good Proportion for a great Ship.

It is to be noted, that all Ships sharp before, not having a long Floar, will fall rough into the Sea from a Billow, and take in Water over Head and Ears; and the same Quality have all narrow quartered Ships to sink after the Tail. The high charging of Ships, is that that brings many ill Qualities, it makes them extreme Lee-ward, makes them sink deep into the Seas, makes them labour sore in foul Weather, and oftentimes overset. Safety is more to be respected than Shews, or Niceness for Ease; in Sea-Journeys both cannot well stand together, and therefore the most necessary is to be chosen.

Two Decks and an half is enough, and no building at all above that, but a low Master's Cabbin. Our Masters and Mariners will say, that the Ships will bear more well enough; and true it is, if none but ordinary Mariners served in them. But Men of better Sort, unused to such a Life, cannot so well endure the rowling and tumbling from Side to Side, where the Seas are never so little grown, which comes by high Charging. Besides those high Cabbin works aloft, are very dangerous in fight, to tear Men with their Splinters.

Above all other Things, have care that the great Guns be four Foot clear above Water when all lading is in, or else these best Pieces are idle at Sea: For if the Ports lie lower, and be open, it is dangerous; and by that Default was a goodly Ship, and many gallant Gentlemen lost, in the Days of *Henry* the Eighth, before the Isle of *Wight*, in a Ship called by the Name of *Mary-Rose*.

To Mr. Secretary Winwood, before his Journey to
Guiana.

Honoured Sir,

I Was lately persuaded by two Gentlemen, my ancient Friends, to acquaint your Honour with some Offers of mine made heretofore for a Journey to *Guiana*, who were of Opinion, that it would be better understood now, than when it was first propounded, which Advice having surmounted my Despair, I have presumed to send unto your Honour the Copies of those Letters which I then wrote, both to his Majesty, and to the Treasurer *Cecil*, wherein as well the Reasons that first moved me are remembered, as the Objections by him made, are briefly answered.

What I know of the Riches of that Place, not by Hearsay, but what mine Eyes have seen, I have said it often, but it was then to no End: Because those that had the greatest Trust, were resolved not to believe it, not because they doubted the Truth, but because they doubted my Disposition towards themselves; where (if God had blessed me in the Enterprize) I had recovered his Majesty's Favour and good Opinion. Other Cause than this, or other Suspicion they never had any. Our late worthy Prince of *Wales* was extreme curious in searching out the Nature of my Offences. The Queen's Majesty hath informed herself from the Beginning; the King of *Denmark* at both Times of his being here was thoroughly satisfied of my Innocency; they would otherwise never have moved his Majesty on my behalf.

The Wife, the Brother, and the Son of a King, do not use to sue for Men suspect; but, Sir, since they all have done it out of their Charity, and but with References to me alone, your Honour (whose Respect hath
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only Relation to his Majesty's Service) strengthened by the Example of those Princes, may with the more Hardiness do the like, being Princes to whom his Majesty's good Estate is no less dear; and all Men that shall oppugn it no less hateful, than to the King himself.

It is true, Sir, That his Majesty hath sometimes answered, that his Counsellors knew me better than he did; meaning some two or three of them; and it was indeed my Infelicity; for had his Majesty known me, I had never been here where I now am; or had I known his Majesty, they had never been so long there where they now are. His Majesty not knowing of me hath been my Ruin, and his Majesty misknowing of them, hath been the Ruin of a goodly Part of his Estate: But they are all of them now, some living and some dying, come to his Majesty's Knowledge. But Sir, how little soever his Majesty knew me, and how much soever he believed them, yet have I been bound to his Majesty both for my Life, and all that remains, of which, but for his Majesty, nor Life, nor ought else had remained. In this Respect, Sir, I am bound to yield up the same Life, and all I have for his Majesty's Service: To die for the King, and not by the King, is all the Ambition I have in the World.

Walter Raleigh.

To his Wife, from Guiana.

Sweet Heart,

I Can write unto you but with a weak Hand, for I have suffered the most violent Calenture for fifteen Days that ever Man did, and lived: But God that gave me a strong Heart in all my Adversities, hath also now strengthened it in the Hell-fire of Heat.

We

We have had two most grievous Sicknesses in our Ship, of which forty two have died, and there are yet many sick, but having recovered the Land of *Guiana*, this 12th of *November*, I hope we shall recover them. We are yet two hundred Men, and the rest of our Fleet are reasonable strong, strong enough I hope to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent Care at *London* to make our Strength known to the *Spanish* King by his Ambassador, have not taught the *Spanish* King to fortify all the Entrances against us. Howsoever we must make the Adventure, and if we perish it shall be no Honour for *England*, nor gain for his Majesty to lose among many other, an hundred as valiant Gentlemen as *England* hath in it.

Of Captain *Baylies* base coming from us at the *Canaries*, see a Letter of *Kemisbes* to Mr. *Scony*, and of the unnatural Weather, Storms, and Rains, and Winds. He hath in the same Letter given a Touch of the Way that hath ever been failed in fourteen Days, now hardly performed in forty Days. God, I trust, will give us Comfort in that which is to come.

In my Passage to the *Canaries*, I stayed at *Gomerah*, where I took Water in Peace, because the Country durst not deny it me. I received there of an *English* Race, a Present of Oranges, Lemmons, Quinces, and Pomegranates without which I could not have lived; those I preserved in fresh Sands, and I have of them yet to my great refreshing. Your Son had never so good Health, having no Distemper in all the Heat under the Line. All my Servants have escaped, but *Crab* and my Cook, yet all have had the Sickness. *Crofts* and *March*, and the rest are all well. Remember my Service to my Lord *Carew*, and Mr. Secretary *Winwood*.

I write not to them, for I can write of nought but Miseries: Yet of Men of Sort, we have lost our Sergeant Major, Captain *Pigot*, and his Lieutenant, Captain *Edward Hastings*, who would have died at Home,
for

for both his Liver, Spleen and Brains were rotten. My Son's Lieutenant *Payton*, and my Cousin Mr. *Hews*, Mr. *Mordant*, Mr. *Gardiner*, Mr. *Hayward*, Captain *Jenning* the Merchant, *Kemish* of *London*, and the Master Chyrurgeon, Mr. *Refner*, Mr. *Moor* the Governor of the *Barmoudas*, our Provost Marshal *William Steed*, Lieutenant *Vescie*, but to mine inestimable Grief, *Hammon* and *Talbot*. By the next I trust you shall hear better of us, in God's Hands we were, and in him we trust.

The Bearer, Captain *Allen*, for his Infirmary of his Head I have sent back, an honest valiant Man, he can deliver you all that is past. Commend me to my worthy Friends at *Lotbury*, Sir *John Leigh* and Mr. *Bower*, whose Nephew *Knevit* is well, and to my Cousin *Blundel*, and my most devoted and humble Service to her Majesty.

To tell you that I might be here King of the *Indians*, were a Vanity, but my Name hath still lived amongst them; here they feed me with fresh Meat, and all that the Country yields, all offer to obey me. Commend me to poor *Carew* my Son.

From Galliana in Guiana, the fourteenth of November.

To Sir Ralph Winwood.

S I R,

AS I have not hitherto given you any Account of our Proceedings and Passages towards the *Indies*, so have I no other Subject to write of, than of the greatest Misfortunes that ever befel any Man: For whereas for the first, all those that navigate between *Cape de Verd* and *America*, do pass it between fifteen or twenty Days at most, we found the Wind so contrary, and (which are also contrary to Nature,) fo

so many Storms and Rains, as we spent six Weeks in the Passage, by Reason whereof, and that in so great Heat we wanted Water: For at the Isle *Prano* off *Cape de Verd*, we lost our Anchors and Cables, and our Water-Casks, being driven from the Island with a *Hurricano*, we were like all to have perished. Great Sickness also fell amongst us, and carried away great Numbers of our ablest Men both for Sea and Land. The seventeenth of *November*, we had sight of *Guiana*, and soon after came to anchor in five Degrees at the River *Galliano*, there we staid till the fourth of *December*, landed our sick Men, set up the Barges and Shallops, which were brought out of *England* in Quarters, washed our Ships, and took in fresh Water, being fed and cherished by the *Indians* of my old Acquaintance, with a great deal of Love and Respect. My self being in the Hands of Death these six Weeks, and was not able otherwise to move, than as I was carried in a Chair, gave Order to five small Ships, to sail into *Oroonoko*, having Captain *Kemis* for their Conductor towards the Mines, and in those five Ships, five Companies of fifty under the Command of Captain *Parker*, and Captain *North*, Brethren to the Lord *Mounteagle* and the Lord *North*, valiant Gentlemen, and of infinite Patience for the Labour, Hunger, and Heat which they have endured; my Son had the third Company; Captain *Thornix* of *Kent* the fourth Company; Captain *Chidley*, by his Lieutenant, the Fifth: But as my Sergeant Major, Captain *Piggot* of the *Low Countries*, died in the former miserable Passage, so now my Lieutenant Sir *Warham* S. *Leiger* lay sick without Hope of Life, and the Charge conferred on my Nephew *George Raleigh*, who had also served long with infinite Commendations; but by Reason of my Absence, and of Sir *Warham's*, was not so well obeyed as the Enterprize required. As they passed up the River, the *Spaniard* began the War, and shot at us both with their Ordnance and Muskets, whereupon the Companies were forced to charge

L E T T E R S.

charge them, and soon after beat them out of the Town. In the Assault, my Son (more desirous of Honour than Safety) was slain, with whom (to say Truth) all the Respects of this World have taken End in me. And although these five Captains had as weak Companies as ever followed valiant Leaders, yet were there amongst them some twenty or thirty valiant and adventurous Gentlemen, and of singular Courage; as of my Son's Company, Mr. *Knivet*, Mr. *Hammon*, Mr. *Langworth*, Mr. *John Pleasington*; his Officers, Sir *John Heydon*, Mr. *Simon Leak* Corporal of the Field, Mr. *Hammon* the elder Brother, Mr. *Nicholas* of *Buckingham*, Mr. *Roberts* of *Kent*, Mr. *Perin*, Mr. *Tresbam*, Mr. *Mollinax*, Mr. *Winter* and his Brother, Mr. *Wray*, Mr. *Miles Herbert*, Mr. *Bradshaw*, Captain *Hall*, and others.

Sir, I have set down the Names of these Gentlemen, to the end, that if his Majesty shall have Cause to use their Service, it may please you to take Notice of them for very sufficient Gentlemen. The other five Ships staid at *Trinidado*, having no other Port capable of them near *Guiana*. The second Ship was commanded by my Vice-Admiral Captain *John Pennington*, of whom (to do him right) I dare say he is one of the sufficientest Gentlemen for the Sea that *England* hath. The third by Sir *Warham S. Leiger*, an exceeding valiant and worthy Gentleman. The fourth by Sir *John Fern*: The fifth by Captain *Chidley* of *Devon*. With these five Ships I daily attended their Armado of *Spain*, which had they set upon us, our Force divided, the one half in *Oroonoko*, an hundred and fifty Miles from us, we had not only been torn in Pieces, but all those in the River had also perished, being of no Force at all for the Sea-fight; for we had resolved to have been burnt by their Sides, had the Armado arrived: but belike they staid for us at *Margarita*, by which they knew we must pass towards the *Indies*; for it pleased his Majesty to value us at so little, as to com-

mand me upon my Allegiance, to set down under my Hand the Country, and the very River by which I was to enter it, to set down the Number of my Men, and Burthen of my Ships, and what Ordnance every Ship carried, which being known to the *Spanish* Ambassador, and by him sent to the King of *Spain*, a Dispatch was made, and Letters sent from *Madrid*, before my Departure out of the *Thames*; for his first Letter sent by a Bark of Advice, was dated the 19th of *March* 1617 at *Madrid*, which Letter I have here inclosed sent to your Honour; the rest I reserve, not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not. The second by the King dated the second of *May*, sent also by a Colonel of *Diego de Palomege*, Governor of *Guiana*, *Elderado*, and *Trinidado*. The third by the Bishop of *Portericho*, and delivered to *Palomege* the 15th of *July*, at *Trinidado*. And the fourth was sent from the Farmer and Secretary of his Customs in the *Indies*. At the same Time, by that of the King's Hand, sent by the Bishop, there was also a Commission for the speedy levying of three hundred Soldiers, and ten Pieces of Ordnance to be sent from *Portericho*, for the Defence of *Guiana*, an hundred and fifty from *Nuevo Remo de Granada*, under the Command of Captain *Anthony Musica*: and the other hundred and fifty from *Portericho*, to be conducted by Captain *Fran. Lauelio*.

Now Sir, if all that have traded to the *Indies* since His Majesty's Time knew that the *Spaniards* have slayed alive all the poor Men which they have taken, being but Merchantmen, what Death and cruel Torment shall we expect if they conquer us? Certainly they have hitherto failed grossly, we being set out thence as we were, and discovered, both for Number, Time, and Place.

Lastly, to make an Apology for not working the Mine (although I know his Majesty whom I am to satisfy, expects not so much at my Hands) my self,

having

having lost my Son, and my Estate in the Enterprize, yet it is true that the *Spaniards* took more Care to defend the Passage leading unto it, than they did for the Town, which by the King's Instructions they might easily do, the Countries being *aspera & nemerosa*.

But it is true, that when Captain *Kemish* found the River low, and that he could not approach the Banks in most Places near the Mine by a Mile, and when he found a Descent, a Volley of Shot came from the Woods upon the Boat and slew two Rowers, and hurt six others, and shot a valiant Gentleman, Captain *Thornix*, of which Wound he languisheth to this day. He, to wit, *Kemish*, following his own Advice, thought that it was in vain to discover the Mine, for he gave me this for an Excuse at his Return, that the Companies of *English* in the Town of *St. Thome* were not able to defend it, against the daily and nightly Assaults of the *Spaniards*; that the Passages to the Mines were of thick and unpassable Woods; and that the Mine being discovered, they had no Men to work it, and therefore he did not discover it at all: For it is true, the *Spaniards* having two Gold Mines near the Town, the one possessed by *Pedro Rodrigo de Parava*, the second by *Harmian Frotinno*, the third of Silver, by Captain *Francisco*, they all lay still for Want of *Negroes* to work them; for as the *Indians* cannot be constrained by a Law of *Charles* the Fifth, so the *Spaniards* will not, nor can endure the Labour of these Mines, whatsoever the *Bragadocio*, the *Spanish* Ambassador saith; as I shall prove under the Proprietor's Hand, by the Custom-book, and the King's Quinto, of which I received an Ingot or two: I shall also make it appear to any Prince or State that will undertake it, how easily those Mines and five or six more of them may be possessed, and the most of them in those Parts, which never as yet have been attempted by any, nor any Passage to them ever discovered by the *English*, *French*, or *Dutch*. But at *Kemish* his Re-

turn from *Oroonoko*, when I rejected his Counfel and his Courfe, and told him that he had undone me, and wounded my Cr dit with the King pa t Recovery, he flew himfelf: For I told him, that feeing my Son was flain, I cared not if I had lo t an hundred more in opening of the Mine, fo my Credit had been faved: For I prote t before God, had not Captain *Whitney* (to whom I gave more Countenance than to all the Captains of my Fleet) run from me at the *Granadoes*, and carried another Ship with him of Captain *Wolle ton's*, I would have left my Body at St. *Thomes* by my Son's, or have brought with me out of that or other Mines, fo much gold Oar, as  ould have fatisfied the King I propounded no vain Thing. What  all become of me I know not; I am unpardoned in *England*, and my poor E tate confumed; and whether any Prince will give me Bread or no, I know not. I defire your Honour to hold me in your good Opinion, to remember my Service to my Lords of *Arundel* and *Pembroke*, to take fome Pity on my poor Wife, to whom I dare not write for renewing her Sorrow for her Son; and befeech you to give a Copy of this to my Lord *Carew*: For to a broken Mind, a fick Body, and weak Eyes, it is a Torment to write many Letters. I have found many Things of Importance for difcovering the State and Weakne  of the *Indies*, which, if I live, I  all hereafter impart unto your Honour, to whom I  all remain a faithful Servant.

Walter Raleigh.

To his Wife, copied out of his own Hand-writing.

I Was loath to write, becau e I know not how to comfort you, and God knows, I never knew what Sorrow meant till now. All that I can fay to you is,
that

that you must obey the Will and Providence of God, and remember, that the Queen's Majesty bare the Loss of Prince *Henry* with a magnanimous Heart, and the Lady *Harrington* of her only Son. Comfort your Heart (dearest *Bess*) I shall sorrow for us both; and I shall sorrow the less, because I have not long to sorrow, because not long to live. I refer you to Mr. Secretary *Winwood's* Letter, who will give you a Copy of it, if you send for it; therein you shall know what hath passed; which I have written by that Letter, for my Brains are broken, and it is a Torment to me to write, especially of Misery. I have desired Mr. Secretary to give my Lord *Carew* a Copy of his Letter. I have cleansed my Ship of sick Men, and sent them home: And hope that God will send us somewhat before we return. Commend me to all at *Lothbury*: You shall hear from me, if I live, from *New-found-land*, where I mean to clean my Ships and revictual; for I have Tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord bless and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the Death of your most valiant Son.

This 22d of March, from the Isle of Christophers,
yours

Walter Raleigh.

Post-script.

I protest before the Majesty of God, that as Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *John Hawkins* died heart-broken when they failed of their Enterprize, I could willingly do the like, did I not contend against Sorrow for your Sake, in Hope to provide somewhat for you, to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve yourself that it is the Care for you that hath strengthened my Heart. It is true, that *Kemish* might have gone directly to the Mine, and meant it; but after my Son's Death, he made them believe that he knew not the Way, and excused himself upon the Want of Water

in the River, and counterfeiting many Impedimentt, left it unfound. When he came back, I told him he had undone me, and that my Credit was lost for ever; he answered, that when my Son was lost, and that he left me so weak, that he thought not to find me alive, he had no Reason to enrich a Company of Rascals, who after my Son's Death made no Account of him. He further told me, that the *English* sent up into *Guiana*, could hardly defend the *Spanish* Town of *St. Thome* which they had taken, and therefore for them to pass through thick Woods, it was impossible, and more impossible to have Victuals brought them into the Mountains. And it is true that the Governour *Diego Palomeque*, and other four Captains being slain, whereof my Son *Wat* slew one, *Plessington*, *Wat's* Serjeant, and *John* of *Moroccoes*, one of his Men, slew two. I saw five of them slain in the Entrance of the Town, the rest went off in a whole Body, and each took more Care to defend the Passages to their Mines (of which they had three within a League of the Town, besides a Mine that was about five Miles off) than they did of the Town itself. Yet *Kemish* at the first was resolved to go to the Mine; but when he came to the Bank-side to land, he had two of his Men slain outright from the Bank, and six others hurt, and Captain *Thornix* shot in the Head, of which Wound, and the Accident thereof, he hath pined away these twelve Weeks.

Now when *Kemish* came back and gave me the former Reasons which moved him not to open the Mine, the one the Death of my Son, a second the Weakness of the *English*, and their Impossibilities to work it and to be victualled, a third that it were a Folly to discover it for the *Spaniards*; and lastly, my Weakness, and being unpardoned; and that I rejected all these his Arguments, and told him, that I must leave him to himself to answer it to the King and State, he shut himself into his Cabbin, and shot himself with a Pocket Pistol,

Pistol, which broke one of his Ribs ; and finding that he had not prevailed, he thrust a long Knife under his short Ribs up to the Handle, and died. Thus much I have written to Mr. Secretary, to whose Letters I refer you ; but because I think my Friends, will rather hearken after you than any other to know the Truth, I did after the Sealing break open the Letter again, to let you know in Brief the State of that Business, which I pray you impart to my Lord of *Northumberland*, and *Silvanus Scorie*, and to Sir *John Leigh*.

For the rest, there was never poor Man so exposed to the Slaughter as I was ; for being commanded upon mine Allegiance to set down not only the Country, but the very River by which I was to enter it, to name my Ships Number, Men, and my Artillery ; this was sent by the *Spanish* Ambassador to his Master the King of *Spain*. The King wrote his Letters to all Parts of the *Indies*, especially to the Governor *Palamique* of *Guiana*, *Elderado*, and *Trinidad* ; of which the first Letter bore Date 19th of *March* 1617. at *Madrid*, when I had not yet left the *Thames*, which Letter I have sent to Mr. Secretary. I have also two other Letters of the King's which I reserve, and one of the Council's. The King also sent a Commission to levy three hundred Soldiers out of his Garisons of *Nuevo Regno de Granado* & *Puerto Rico* with ten pieces of Brass Ordnance to entertain us ; he also prepared an *Armado* by Sea to set upon us. It were too long to tell you how we were preserved ; if I live I shall make it known ; my Brains are broken, and I cannot write much ; I live yet, and I told you why. *Witney*, for whom I sold all my Plate at *Plymouth*, and to whom I gave more Credit and Countenance than to all the Captains of my Fleet, ran from me at the *Granadoes*, and *Woolenston* with him, so as I have now but five Ships, and one of those I have sent home ; and in my Fly-boat, a Rabble of idle Rascals, which

I know will not spare to wound me, but I care not. I am sure there is never a base Slave in all the Fleet had taken the Pains and Care that I have done, that hath slept so little, and travelled so much; my Friends will not believe them; and for the rest I care not; God in Heaven bless you and strengthen your Heart.

Yours

Walter Raleigh.

To Mr. Secretary Winwood.

S I R,

SINCE the Death of *Kemish*, it is confessed by the Serjeant Major, and others of his inward Friends, that he told them that he could have brought them unto the Mine within two Hours March from the River Side; but because my Son was slain, myself unpardoned, and not like to live, he had no Reason to open the Mine either for the *Spaniard*, or for the King. They answered, that the King (though I were not pardoned) had granted me my Heart's Desire under the Great Seal. He replied, that the Grant to me was to a Man, *non Ens* in the Law, and therefore of no Force. This Discourse they had, which I knew not of till after his Death: But when I was resolved to write unto your Honour, he pray'd me to join with him in excusing his not going to the Mine. I answered him I would not do it; but if himself could satisfy the King and State, that he had Reason not to open it, I should be glad of it: But for my Part, I must avow that he knew it, and that he might without Loss have done it; other Excuses I would not frame: He told me that he would wait on me presently, and give me
better

better Satisfaction: But I was no sooner come from him into my Cabin, but I heard a Pistol go off over my Head, and sending to know who shot it, Word was brought me that *Kemish* shot it out of his Cabbin Window to cleanse it; and his Boy going into his Cabbin, found him lying upon his Bed with much Blood by him, and looking in his Face saw him dead; the Pistol being but little, did but crack his Rib, but turning him over, he found a long Knife in his Body, all but the Handle. Sir, I have sent into *England* with my Cousen *Harbert* (a very valiant honest Gentleman) divers unworthy Persons, good for nothing neither by Sea nor Land, and though it was at their own Suit, yet I know they will wrong me in all that they can. I beseech your Honour, that the Scum of Men may not be believed of me, who have taken more Pains, and suffered more than the meanest Rascal in the Ship; these being gone, I shall be able to keep the Sea until the End of *August*, with some four reasonable good Ships. Sir, wheresoever God shall permit me to arrive in any Part of *Europe*, I will not fail to let your Honour know what we have done, till then, and ever I remain

Your Honour's

Servant

Walter Raleigh.

To King James at his Return from Guiana.

May it please yur most excellent Majesty.

IF in my Journey outward bound I had my Men murdered at the Islands, and yet spared to take Revenge; if I did discharge some *Spanish* Barks tak-

en without Spoil; if I forbore all Parts of the *Spanish Indies*, wherein I might have taken twenty of their Towns on the Sea Coasts, and did only follow the Enterprize I undertook for *Guiana*; where, without any Directions from me, a *Spanish* Village was burnt, which was new set up within three Miles of the Mine; by your Majesty's Favour, I find no Reason why the *Spanish* Ambassador should complain of me. If it were lawful for the *Spaniards* to murder twenty six *English* Men, tying them Back to Back, and then cutting their Throats, when they had traded with them a whole Month, and came to them on the Land, without so much as one Sword, and that it may not be lawful to your Majesty's Subjects, being charged first by them, to repel Force by Force; we may justly say, O miserable *English*!

If *Parker* and *Metham* took *Campeachy* and other Places in the *Honduraes*, seated in the Heart of the *Spanish Indies*, burnt Towns, and killed the *Spaniards*, and had nothing said unto them at their Return; and myself forbore to look into the *Indies*, because I would not offend, I may as justly say, O miserable Sir *Walter Raleigh*!

If I have spent my poor Estate, lost my Son, suffered by Sicknes and otherwise a World of Miseries; if I have resisted with manifest Hazard of my Life the Robberies and Spoils, with which my Companions would have made me rich; if when I was poor, I could have made my self rich; if when I had gotten my Liberty, which all Men and Nature itself do much prize, I voluntary lost it; if when I was sure of my Life, I rendred it again; if I might elsewhere have sold my Ship and Goods, and put five or six thousand Pounds in my Purse, and yet brought her into *England*; I beseech your Majesty to believe, that all this I have done, because it should not be said to your Majesty, that your Majesty had given Liberty and Trust to a Man, whose End was but the Recovery of his Liberty, and who had betrayed your Majesty's Trust.

My

My Mutineers told me, that if I returned for *England*, I should be undone; but I believed in your Majesty's Goodness, more than in all their Arguments. Sure, I am the first that being free and able to enrich my self, yet hath embraced Poverty and Peril. And as sure I am, that my Example shall make me the last. But your Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness I have made my Judges, who have ever been, and shall ever be,

Your Majesty's

most humble Vassal

Walter Raleigh.

*To His Majesty before his Trial at Winchester, Anno
Dom. 1603.*

IT is one Part of the Office of a just and worthy Prince, to hear the Complaints of his Vassals, especially such as are in great Misery. I know that amongst many Presumptions gathered against me, your Majesty hath been persuaded, that I was one of them who were greatly discontented; and therefore the more likely to prove disloyal; but the great God of Heaven and Earth so relieve me as I was the contrary; and I took it as a great Comfort to behold your Majesty, always learning some good, and bettering my Knowledge, by hearing your Majesty discourse; and do most humbly beseech your Majesty not to believe any of those, in my particular, who under Pretence of Offences to Kings, do easily work their particular Revenge. I trust, no Man under Colour of making Examples, shall persuade you to leave the Word *merciful* out of your Majesty's Stile; for it will no less profit your Majesty, and become your Greatness, than the Word *invincible*. It is true, that the Laws of *England*, are no less jealous of the King, than *Cesar* was of *Pompey's* Wife; who notwithstanding she was cleared

cleared for keeping Company with *Claudius*, yet for being suspected, he condemned her: For my self, I protest before the everlasting God, (and I speak it to my Master and Sovereign) that I never invented Treason, consented to Treason, nor performed Treason against you; and yet I know I shall fall *in Manus eorum à quibus non possum evadere*, unless by your Majesty's gracious Compassion I be sustained. Our Law, therefore, most merciful Prince, knowing her own Cruelty, and knowing that she is wont to compound Treasons out of Presumptions and Circumstances, doth give this charitable Advice to the King her supreme: *Non solum sapiens esset Rex, sed & misericors, ut cum sapientia misericordetur, & sit justus; cum tutius sit reddere rationem Misericordiae quam Judicii.* I do therefore, on the Knees of my Heart, beseech your Majesty to take Counsel from your own sweet and comfortable Disposition, and to remember that I have loved your Majesty twenty Years, for which your Majesty has given me no Reward; and it is fitter that I should be indebted to my sovereign Lord than the King to his poor Vassal. Save me therefore (most merciful Prince) that I may owe your Majesty my Life itself, than which there cannot be a greater Debt; lend it me at least (my Sovereign Lord) that I may pay it in your Service, when your Majesty shall please to command it. If the Law destroy me, your Majesty shall put me out of your Power, and then I shall have none to fear, none to reverence but the King of Kings.

Your Majesty's most humble Vassal

Walter Raleigh.

To the Earls of Southampton, Suffolk, and Devonshire, and to the Lord Cecill, declaring his Innocency in the two Points wherewith he was charged, as in Point of Treason, the 14th of August 1603.

I Do not know whether your Lordships have seen my Answers to all the Matters which my Lord *Henry Howard*, my Lord *Wotton*, and Sir *Edward Cooke* have examined me on, upon *Saturday* the 14th of this Present; which makes me bold to write unto your Lordships at this Time; the two principal Accusations being these. The First, that Money was offered me, with a Pretence to maintain the Amity; but the Intent was to have assisted His Majesty's Surprise. The other, that I was privy to my Lord *Cobham's Spanish Journey*. For the First: I beseech Your Lordships to weigh it seriously, before there be any farther Proceeding: For to leave me to the Cruelty of the Law of *England*, and to that *Summum Jus*, before both your Understandings and Consciences be thoroughly informed, were but carelessly to destroy the Father and Fatherless; and you may be assured, that there is no Glory, nor any Reward that can recompence the shedding of innocent Blood. And whereas it seemeth to appear, that this Money was offered to others, long after it was offered to me, and upon some other Considerations than it was unto me: For my self, I avow upon my Allegiance, that I never either knew or suspected, either the Man or the new Intention. To me it was but once propounded; and in three Weeks after, I never heard more of it; neither did I believe it, that he had any Commission to offer it, as the everlasting God doth witness. For, if that Word (Amity) had been used to me colourably, I

must have been also made acquainted, with the true End for which it should have been given ; which it seemeth was for the Surprize. But of any such horrible and fearful Purpose, if ever I had so much as a Suspicion, I refuse your Lordship's Favours, and the King's Mercy. I know that your Lordships have omitted nothing to find out the Truth hereof. But as you have not erred, like ill Surgeons to lay on Plaisters too narrow for so great Wounds ; so I trust that you will not imitate unlearned Physicians, to give Medicines more cruel than the Disease it self.

For the Journey into *Spain*, I know that I was accused to be privy thereunto : But I know your Lordships have a Reputation of Conscience as well as of Industry. By what Means that revengeful Accusation was stirred, you, my Lord *Cecill*, know right well, that it was my Letter about *Kemish* ; and your Lordships all know whether it be maintained, or whether out of Truth, and out of a Christian Consideration it be revoked. I know that to have spoken it once is enough for the Law, if we lived under a cruel Prince ; but I know that the King is too merciful to have or suffer his Subjects to be ruined by any quick or unchristian Advantage, unless he be resolved or can persuade his religious Heart of the Equity : I know that the King thinks (with all good Princes) *satius est peccare in alteram Partem*. God doth know, and I can give an account of it, that I have spent forty thousand Pounds of mine own against that King and Nation ; that I never reserved so much of all my Fortunes as to purchase forty Pounds *per Ann.* Land ; that I have been a violent Persecutor and Furtherer of all Enterprizes against that Nation ; I have served against them in Person ; and how, my Lord Admiral, and my Lord of *Suffolk* can witness. I discovered myself the richest Part of all his *Indies*. I have planted in his Territories. I offered his Majesty at my Uncle *Carew's*, to carry two thousand Men to invade him without the King's Charge.

Alas !

Alas! to what End should we live in the World, if all the Endeavours of so many Testimonies shall be blown off with one Blast of Breath, or be prevented by one Man's Word; and in this Time when we have a generous Prince, from whom to purchase Honour and good Opinion, I had no other Hope but by undertaking upon that cruel and insolent Nation. Think therefore, I most humbly beseech you, on my great Affliction with Compassion, who have lost my Estate, and the King's Favour, upon one Man's Word; and as you would that God should deal with you, deal with me: You all know that the Law of *England* hath need of a merciful Prince, and if you put me to Shame, you take from me all Hope ever to receive his Majesty's least Grace again. I beseech you to be resolved of those Things of which I am accused, and distinguish me from others. As you have true Honour, and as you would your selves be used in the like. Forget all particular Mistakes, *multos Clementia honestavit, Ultio nullum*. Your Lordships know that I am guiltless of the Surprize intended. Your Lordships know, or may know, that I never accepted of the Money, and that it was not offered me for any ill; and of the *Spanish* Journey, I trust your Consciences are resolved. Keep not then, I beseech you, these my Answers and humble Desires, from my Sovereign Lord, *qui est Rex pius & misericors, & non Leo coronatus*. Thus humbly beseeching your Lordships to have a merciful Regard of me, I rest

Your Lordships humble and

miserable Suppliant,

Walter Raleigh.

To the King after his Condemnation at Winchester, 1603.

THE Life which I had (most mighty Prince) the Law hath taken from me ; and I am now but the same Earth and Dust, out of which I was first framed. If my Offences had any Proportion with your Majesty's Mercy, I should not despair ; or if my Crime had any Quantity with your Majesty's unmeasurable Goodness, I might yet have Hope ; but it is your great Majesty that must judge of both, and not I. Blood, Name, Gentry or Estate, have I (now) none, no not so much as a Being, no not so much as *Vita Plantæ*. I have only a penitent Soul in a Body of Iron, which moveth towards the Loadstone of Death, and cannot be withheld from touching it, except your Majesty's Mercy turn the Point towards me which expelleth. Lost I am, for hearing a vain Man, for hearing only, and never believing or approving ; and so little Account I made of that Speech of his, which was my Condemnation, (as the living God doth truly witness) that I never remembered any such Thing, till it was at my Trial objected against me. So did he repay my Care, who cared to make him good, which (now too late) see no Care of Man can effect. But God (for mine Offences towards him) hath laid this heavy Burthen upon me, miserable and unfortunate Wretch that I am ; but not for loving you (my Sovereign) hath God laid this Sorrow on me : For he knoweth (with whom I may not dissemble) that I honoured your Majesty by Fame, and loved and admired you by Knowledge, so whether I live or die, your Majesty's true and loving Servant, and loyal Subject I will live and die. If I now write what doth not become me (most merciful Prince) vouchsafe to ascribe it to the Counsel of a dead Heart, and to a Mind which Sorrow hath broken
and

and confounded ; but the more my Misery is, the more is your Majesty's Mercy, if you please to behold it ; and the less I can deserve, the more liberal your Majesty's Gift shall be. God only shall imitate your Majesty herein, both in giving freely, and by giving to such a one as from whom there can be no Retribution, but only a Deign to repay a lent Life, with the same great Love, which the same great Goodness shall please to bestow it. This being the first Letter that ever your Majesty received from a dead Man, I humbly submit myself to the Will of my supreme Lord, and shall willingly and patiently suffer whatsoever it shall please your Majesty to impose upon me.

Walter Raleigh.

To his Wife the Night before he expected to be put to Death at Winchester, 1603.

YOU shall now receive (my dear Wife) my last Words in these my last Lines. My Love I send you, that you may keep it when I am dead ; and my Counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not, by my Will, present you with Sorrows (dear *Bess*,) let them go into the Grave with me, and be buried in the Dust : And seeing it is not the Will of God, that ever I shall see you more in this Life ; bear it patiently, and with a Heart like thyself.

First, I send you all the Thanks which my Heart can conceive, or my Words can express, for your many Travels, and Care taken for me ; which though they have not taken Effect as you wished, yet my Debt to you is not the less ; but pay it I never shall in this World.

Secondly,

Secondly, I beseech you, for the Love you bear me living, do not hide yourself many Days after my Death; but by your Travels seek to help your miserable Fortunes, and the Right of your poor Child: Thy Mournings cannot avail me, I am but Dust.

Thirdly, You shall understand, that my Land was conveyed (*bona Fide*) to my Child; the Writings were drawn at Midsummer was Twelve Months; my honest Cozen *Brett* can testify so much, and *Dalberie* too can remember somewhat therein: And I trust my Blood will quench their Malice that have thus cruelly murdered me; and that they will not seek also to kill thee and thine with extreme Poverty. To what Friend to direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the true Time of Tryal: And I plainly perceive that my Death was determined from the first Day. Most sorry I am, (God knows) that being thus surprized with Death, I can leave you in no better Estate; God is my Witness I meant you all my Office of Wines, or all that I could have purchased by selling it; half my Stuff and all my Jewels, but some one for the Boy; but God hath prevented all my Resolutions, even that great God that ruleth all in all: But if you can live free from Want, care for no more, the rest is but Vanity; love God, and begin betimes to repose yourself on him; and therein shall you find true and lasting Riches, and endless Comfort. For the rest, when you have travelled and wearied your Thoughts over all Sorts of worldly Cogitation, you shall but sit down by Sorrow in the End. Teach your Son also to love and fear God, whilst he is yet young, that the Fear of God may grow up with him; and then God will be a Husband to you, and a Father to him; a Husband and a Father which cannot be taken from you. *Bayly* oweth me two hundred Pounds, and *Adrian Gilbert* six hundred Pounds. In *Jersey* also I have much Money owing me; besides, the Arrear-

ages

ages of the Wines will pay my Debts; and howsoever you do, for my Soul's Sake pay all poor Men. When I am gone, no doubt you shall be sought to by many, for the World thinks that I was very rich: But take heed of the Pretences of Men, and their Affections; for they last not, but in honest and worthy Men; and no greater Misery can befall you in this Life, than to become a Prey, and afterwards to be despised. I speak not this (God knows) to dissuade you from Marriage; for it will be best for you, both in respect of the World and of God. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine; Death has cut us asunder; and God hath divided me from the World, and you from me.

Remember your poor Child, for his Father's Sake; who chose you and loved you in his happiest Time. Get those Letters (if it be possible) which I writ to the Lords, wherein I sued for my Life. God is my Witness, it was for you and yours that I desired Life: But it is true that I disdain myself for begging it, for know it (dear Wife) that your Son is the Son of a true Man, and one who in his own respect despiseth Death, and all his mishapen and ugly Forms. I cannot write much; God he knoweth how hardly I steal this Time, while others sleep; and it is also high Time that I should separate my Thoughts from the World. Beg my dead Body, which living was denied thee; and either lay it at *Sherburne* (if the Land continue) or in *Exeter* Church by my Father and Mother; I can say no more, Time and Death call me away.

The everlasting, powerful, infinite and omnipotent God; who is Goodness itself; the true Life and true Light keep thee and thine, have Mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my Persecutors and Accusers, and send us to meet in his glorious Kingdom. My dear

Wife, farewell: bleſs my poor Boy, pray for me, and let my good God hold you both in his Arms.

*Written with the dying Hand of ſometime thy Huſband,
but now (alas) overthrown.*

Yours that was but now not my own,

Walter Raleigh.

To Sir Robert Car, after Earl of Somerſet.

S I R,

AFTER many Loſſes, and many Years Sorrows, of both which I have Cauſe to fear I was miſtaken in their Ends, it is come to my Knowledge, that yourſelf (whom I know not but by an honourable Favour) hath been perſuaded to give me and mine my laſt fatal Blow, by obtaining from his Maſteſty the Inheritance of my Children and Nephews, loſt in Law for Want of a Word. This done, there remaineth nothing with me but the Name of Life; His Maſteſty, whom I never offended (for I hold it unnatural and unmanlike to hate Goodneſs) ſtay'd me at the Grave's Brink; not that I thought his Maſteſty thought me worthy of many Deaths, and to behold mine caſt out of the World with myſelf, but as a King that knoweth the Poor in Truth, hath received a Promise from God, that his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed.

And for you, Sir, ſeeing your fair Day is but in the Dawn, mine drawn to the ſetting; your own Virtues and the King's Grace aſſuring you of many Fortunes and much Honour: I beſeech you begin not your firſt Building upon the Ruins of the Innocent, and let not mine and their Sorrows attend your firſt Plantation. I

have

have ever been bound to your Nation as well for many other Graces, as for the true Report of my Trial to the King's Majesty; against whom had I been malignant, the hearing of my Cause would not have changed Enemies into Friends, Malice into Compassion, and the Minds of the greatest Number then present into the Commiseration of mine Estate. It is not the Nature of foul Treason to beget such fair Passions; neither could it agree with the Duty and Love of faithful Subjects (especially of your Nation) to bewail his Overthrow that had conspired against their most natural and liberal Lord. I therefore trust that you will not be the first that shall kill us outright, cut down the Tree with the Fruit, and undergo the Curse of them that enter the Fields of the Fatherless: Which if it pleases you to know the Truth, is far less in Value than in Fame. But that so worthy a Gentleman as yourself, will rather bind us to you (being six Gentlemen not bare in Birth and Alliance) which have Interest therein: And myself with the uttermost Thankfulness will remain ready to obey your Commands.

Walter Raleigh.

To the Duke, 12th of August.

IF I presume too much, I humbly beseech your Lordship to pardon me, especially in presuming to write to so great and worthy a Person, who hath been told that I have done him wrong. I heard it but of late, but most happy had I been, if I might have disapproved that Villany against me, when there had been no Suspicion, that the Desire to save my Life, had presented my Excuse.

But, my worthy Lord, it is not to excuse myself that I now write: I cannot: for I have now offended my

Sovereign Lord: For all past, even all the World, and my very Enemies have lamented my Loss, whom now if his Majesty's Mercy alone do not lament, I am lost. Howsoever that which doth comfort my Soul in this Offence is, that even in the Offence itself, I had no other Intent than his Majesty's Service, and to make his Majesty know, that my late Enterprize was grounded upon a Truth, and which with one Ship speedily set out, I meant to have assured, or to have died: Being resolved, (as it is well known) to have done it from *Plymouth*, had I not been restrained. Hereby I hoped not only to recover his Majesty's gracious Opinion, but to have destroyed all those malignant Reports which had been spread of me. That this is true, that Gentleman whom I so much trusted, (my Keeper) and to whom I opened my Heart, cannot but testify, and wherein if I cannot be believed living, my Death shall witness: Yea, that Gentleman cannot but avow it, that when we came back towards *London*, I desired to have no other Treasure than the exact Description of those Places in the *Indies*. That I meant to go hence as a discontented Man, God I trust, and mine own Actions, will dissuade his Majesty; whom neither the Loss of my Estate, thirteen Years Imprisonment, and the Denial of my Pardon, could beat from his Service. And the Opinion of being accounted a Fool, or rather distract, by returning as I did unpardon'd, balanced with my Love to his Majesty's Person and Estate, had no Place at all in my Heart.

It was that last severe Letter from my Lords, for the speedy bringing of me up, and the Impatience of Dishonour, that first put me in Fear of my Life, or enjoying it in a perpetual Imprisonment, never to recover my Reputation lost, which strengthened me in my late, and too late lamented Resolution, if his Majesty's Mercy do not abound: If his Majesty do not pity my Age, and scorn to take the extremest and utmost Advantage of my Errors: If his Majesty in
his

his great Charity do not make a Difference between Offences proceeding from a Life-saving natural Impulsion, without ill Intent, and those of an ill Heart; and that your Lordship, remarkable in the World for the Nobleness of your Disposition, do not vouchsafe to become my Intercessor, whereby your Lordship shall bind an hundred Gentlemen of my Kindred to honour your Memory, and bind me for all the Time of that Life which your Lordship shall beg for me, to pray to God that you may ever prosper, and ever bind me to remain

Your most humble Servant,

W. Raleigh.





P O E M S.

Upon Gascoign's Poem, call'd, The Steel-Glas.



WE ET were the Sauce would please each kind
 of Taste,
 The Life likewise were pure that never swerv'd,
 For spiteful Tongues, in cankerd Stomachs plac'd,
 Deem worst of Things, which best percase deserv'd.
 But what for that? this Med'cine may suffice,
 To scorn the rest, and seek to please the Wise.

Though fundry Minds in fundry Sort do deem,
 Yet Worthiest Wights yield Praise for every Pain;
 But envious Brains do nought (or Light) esteem,
 Such stately Steps as they cannot attain:
 For who so reaps Renown above the rest,
 With Heaps of Hate, shall surely be oppress'd.

Wherefore, to write my Censure of this Book,
 This Glas of Steel impartially doth shew,
 Abuses all to such as in it look,
 From Prince to Poor; from high Estate to low.
 As for the Verse, who list like Trade to try,
 I fear me much shall hardly reach so high.

A Vision upon the Fairy Queen.

Methought I saw the Grave where *Laura* lay ;
 Within that Temple, where the vestal Flame
 Was wont to burn ; and, passing by that Way,
 To see that buried Dust of living Fame,
 Whose Tomb fair Love, and fairer Virtue kept,
 All suddenly I saw the Faery Queen :
 At whose Approach the Soul of *Petrarke* wept,
 And, from thenceforth, those Graces were not seen ;
 For, they this Queen attended ; in whose stead
 Oblivion laid him down on *Laura's* Hearse :
 Hereat the hardest Stones were seen to bleed,
 And Groans of buried Ghosts the Heavens did pierce ;
 Where *Homer's* Spright did tremble all for Grief,
 And curst th' Access of that celestial Thief.

On the same.

THE Praise of meaner Wits this Work like Profit brings,
 As doth the Cucko's Song delight, when *Philamela*
 sings ;
 If thou hast formed right true Virtue's Face herein ;
 Virtue herself can best discern, to whom they written
 been.
 If thou hast Beauty prais'd, let her sole Looks divine,
 Judge if ought therein be amiss, and mend it by her
 Eyne.
 If Chastity want ought, or Temperance her due,
 Behold her princely Mind aright, and write thy Queen
 anew.
 Mean while she shall perceive, how far her Virtues
 soar
 Above the Reach of all that live, or such as wrote of
 Yore :

And

And thereby will excuse and favour thy good Will :
 Whose Virtue cannot be exprest, but by an Angel's
 Quill.

Of me no Lines are lov'd, nor Letters are of Price,
 Of all, which speak our *English* Tongue ; but those
 of thy Device.

S O N G.

By Christopher Marlow.

C O M E live with me and be my Love,
 And we will all the Pleasures prove,
 That Grove or Valley, Hill, or Field,
 Or Wood and steepy Mountain yield.

Where we will sit on rising Rocks,
 And see the Shepherds feed their Flocks
 By shallow Rivers, to whose Falls
 Melodious Birds sing Madrigals.

Pleas'd will I make thee Beds of Roses,
 And twine a thousand fragrant Posies ;
 A Cap of Flow'rs, and rural Kirtle,
 Embroider'd all with Leaves of Mirtle.

A jaunty Gown of finest Wool,
 Which from our pretty Lambs we pull ;
 And Shoes lin'd choicely for the Cold,
 With Buckles of the purest Gold.

A Belt of Straw, and Ivy-Buds,
 With Coral Clasps, and Amber-Studs ;
 If these, these Pleasures can thee move,
 To live with me, and be my Love.

*The A N S W E R,**By Sir Walter Raleigh.*

IF all the World and Love were young,
 And Truth on every Shepherd's Tongue,
 These Pleasures might my Passion move
 To live with thee, and be thy Love:

But fading Flowers in ev'ry Field,
 To Winter Floods their Treasures yield;
 A honey'd Tongue, a Heart of Gall,
 Is Fancy's Spring, but Sorrow's Fall.]

Thy Gown, thy Shoes, thy Beds of Roses,
 Thy Cap, thy Kirtle, and thy Posies,
 Are all soon wither'd, broke, forgotten,
 In Folly ripe, in Reason rotten.

Thy Belt of Straw, and Ivy-Buds,
 Thy Coral Clasps, and Amber-Studs,
 Can me with no Inticements move,
 To live with thee, and be thy Love.

But could Youth last, could Love still breed;
 Had Joys no Date, had Age no Need;
 Then those Delights my Mind might move,
 To live with thee, and be thy Love.

The silent Lover.

PAffions are likened best to Floods and Streams;
 The shallow murmur, but the deep are dumb;
 So, when Affections yield Discourse, it seems
 The Bottom is but shallow whence they come:

They that are rich in Words must needs discover,
 They are but poor in that which makes a Lover.

Wrong

Wrong not, sweet Mistress of my Heart!
The Merit of true Passion,
With thinking that he feels no Smart,
Who sues for no Compassion!

Since, if my Complaints were not t'approve
The Conquest of thy Beauty,
It comes not from Defect of Love,
But fear t' exceed my Duty.

For, knowing that I sue to serve
A Saint of such Perfection
As all desire, but none deserve
A Place in her Affection,

I rather chuse to want Relief
Than venture the Revealing:
Where Glory recommends the Grief
Despair disdains the healing!

Thus those Desires that boil so high
In any mortal Lover,
When Reason cannot make them die,
Discretion them must cover.

Yet when Discretion doth bereave
The Complaints that I shou'd utter,
Then your Discretion may perceive
That Silence is a Suitor.

Silence in Love bewrays more Woe
Than Words, tho' ne'er so witty;
A Beggar that is dumb you know,
May challenge double Pity.

Then wrong not, dearest to my Heart!
My Love for secret Passion;
He smarteth most that hides his Smart,
And sues for no Compassion.

The FAREWELL. *

I.

GO, Soul, the Bodies guest,
 Upon a thankless Arrant,
 Fear not to touch the Best,
 The Truth shall be thy Warrant.
 Go, since I needs must die,
 And give them all the lie.

II.

Go, tell the Court it glows,
 And shines like painted Wood;
 Go, tell the Church it shows
 What's Good, but does no good,
 If Court and Church reply,
 Give Court and Church the lie:

III.

Tell Potentates, they live
 Acting, but oh! their Actions
 Not lov'd, unless they give;
 Nor strong, but by their Factions.
 If Potentates reply,
 Give Potentates the lie.

IV.

Tell Men of high Condition,
 That rule Affairs of state,
 Their Purpose is Ambition;
 Their Practice only hate.
 And if they do reply,
 Then give them all the lie.

* This Poem is supposed to be Sir Walter Raleigh's, and appears to have been written some short Time before his Death.

V. Tell

V.

Tell those that brave it most,
They beg for more by spending;
Who in their greatest cost
Seek nothing but commending.
And if they make reply
Spare not to give the lie.

VI.

Tell Zeal it lacks Devotion;
Tell Love it is but Lust;
Tell Time it is but Motion;
Tell Flesh it is but Dust.
And with them not reply,
For thou must give the lie.

VII.

Tell Age it daily wasteth;
Tell Honour how it alters;
Tell Beauty that it blasteth;
Tell Favour that she falters.
And as they do reply,
Give every one the lie.

VIII.

Tell Wit how much it wrangles
In fickle Points of Niceness;
Tell Wisdom she intangles
Herself in over-wiseness.
And if they do reply,
Then give them both the lie.

IX.

Tell Physick of her Boldness;
Tell Skill it is Pretension;
Tell Charity of Coldness;
Tell Law it is Contention.

And

And if they yield reply,
Then give them still the lie.

X.

Tell Fortune of her Blindness;
Tell Nature of Decay;
Tell Friendship of Unkindness;
Tell Justice of Delay.

And if they do reply,
Then give them all the lie.

XI.

Tell Arts they have no Soundness,
But vary by esteeming;
Tell Scholars lack Profoundness,
And stand too much on seeming.
If Arts and Schools reply,
Give Arts and Schools the lie.

XII.

Tell Faith it's fled the City;
Tell how the Country erreth;
Tell Manhood shakes off Pity;
Tell Virtue least preferreth.
And if they do reply,
Spare not to give the lie.

XIII.

So, when thou hast, as I
Commanded thee, done blabbing;
Although to give the lie
Deserves no less than stabbing;
Yet stabb at thee whose will,
No stabb the Soul can kill.

His PILGRIMAGE.

GIVE me my Scallop-shell of Quiet,
My Staff of Faith to walk upon;
My Scrip of Joy, immortal Diet;
My Bottle of Salvation.

My Gown of Glory, (Hope's true Gage)
And thus I'll take my Pilgrimage.
Blood must be my Bodies only Balmer,
Whilst my Soul like a quiet Palmer,
Travelleth towards the Land of Heaven,
No other Balm will there be given.
Over the Silver Mountains,
Where springs the Nectar Fountains,
There will I kiss the Bowl of Bliss,
And drink mine everlasting fill
Upon every milken Hill.
My Soul will be a-dry before,
But after, it will thirst no more.
I'll take them first, to quench my Thirst,
And taste of Nectars Suckets,
At those clear Wells
Where Sweetness dwells,
Drawn up by Saints in crystal Buckets.
Then by that happy blestful Day,
More peaceful Pilgrims I shall see,
That have cast off their Rags of Clay,
And walk apparelled fresh like me,
And when our Bodies and all we
Are fill'd with Immortality,
Then the blessed Parts we'll travel,
Strow'd with Rubies thick as Gravel,
Cielings of Diamonds, Saphire Flowers,
High Walls of Coral, and pearly Bowers.
From thence to Heavens bribeless Hall,
Where no corrupted Voices brawl,
No Conscience molten into Gold,
No forg'd Accuser bought or sold,
No Cause deferr'd, no vain spent Journey,
For there *Christ* is the King's Attorney,
Who pleads for all without Degrees,
And he hath Angels, but no Fees:

And when the twelve grand Million Jury
 Of our Sins, with direful Fury,
 Gainst our Souls black Verdicts give,
 Christ pleads his Death, and then we live.
 Be thou my Speaker, [taintless Pleader,
 Unblotted Lawyer, true Proceeder,]
 Thou wouldst Salvation even for Alms,
 Not with a bribed Lawyers Palms.
 And this is mine eternal Plea,
 To him that made Heaven, Earth and Sea,
 That since my Flesh must die so soon,
 And want a Head to dine next Noon,
 Just at the Stroke, when my Veins start and spread,
 Set on my Soul an everlasting Head.
 Then am I ready, like a Palmer fit,
 To tread those blest Paths which before I writ.
 Of Death and Judgment, Heaven and Hell;
 Who oft doth think, must needs die well.

Verses found in his Bible in the Gatehouse at Westminster.

EVEN such is Time, which takes in trust
 Our Youth, our Joys, and all we have,
 And pays us nought but Age and Dust,
 Which in the dark and silent Grave,
 When we have wandred all our Ways,
 Shuts up the Story of our Days:
 And from which Grave, and Earth, and Dust,
 The Lord shall raise me up I trust.

On the Snuff of a Candle the Night before he died.

COWARDS fear to die; but Courage stout,
 Rather than live in Snuff, will be put out.

F I N I S.

